A Tale of Two Cities: CLV Waldsee in the Crucible of History and Memory

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“To observe the past through the lens of the present invites delusion; so too does ignoring the existence of that lens.”

- *Christopher Tyerman*

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INTRODUCTION

In April of 2018, Christine Schulze, executive director of Concordia Language Villages, received an email that left her in utter disbelief and shock. Waldsee, the name of the German language village that had been at the center of Concordia Language Villages since its founding in 1961, was not just the German translation of forest lake, but a euphemism the Nazis had used for Auschwitz. A simple Google search by a curious parent had uncovered this ugly truth. Was this a mere uncomfortable coincidence that could be ignored? After all, CLV Waldsee was a simulation of a German village experience and an American iso-immersion language program in the northern Minnesota woods. It was neither on German soil nor part of German history. Yet, while separated by time and geography, there was the name Waldsee that evoked both--on the one hand, an idyllic Turtle River Lake site, with villagers every year eager to immerse themselves in German language and culture, and on the other hand, Auschwitz, the most notorious Nazi death camp and the universally recognized site for the mass murder of Europe's Jews during the Holocaust.

This paper will describe how between April and December 2018 Concordia Language Villages has attempted to navigate the challenges associated with the Waldsee name and assume "moral responsibility" to tackle the complexities of both the history and memory of the Holocaust. But foremost, it will also place the Waldsee matter in a larger historical context. If an action as simple as a Google search could reveal a connection between the name of the German Concordia Language Village, Waldsee, and Auschwitz, then why had this link never been discovered before now? And why would it matter now, nearly 60 years after the founding of CLV Waldsee? This paper argues that the Waldsee name stands within the crucible of history

and memory. At a time when history and memory shape public debate about monuments and memorialization, Waldsee is not just a name that means “Forest Lake,” but rather, Waldsee illustrates the connection between history and memory in all its complexities.

In the first part, the authors situate the founding of Concordia Language Villages (CLV) in 1961 within the microcosm of personal ambitions by Concordia visionaries in German language acquisition and the macrocosm of two world events that had direct bearing on the American image and memory of Germany--the building of the Berlin Wall and the trial of Adolf Eichmann. While CLV expanded from a German summer camp “Lager Waldsee” into an enterprise comprised of fifteen language villages over the next five decades, CLV Waldsee has become a brand name and serves as the poster child for innovative language learning.

Yet, the very name Waldsee, as the second part will show, is intimately connected to the Holocaust as it was used as a euphemism for Auschwitz. Upon arrival at Auschwitz, the most notorious of the Nazi extermination camps, many Hungarian Jews were forced to write misleading postcards home to their relatives, postmarked from a place called Waldsee, to persuade them that all was well at their new destination. While the Waldsee deception has long been known to scholars, it only reached public prominence in the early 21st century and for CLV Waldsee in April 2018.

In the third part, the authors discuss the Waldsee name discovery, the immediate reaction by both CLV leadership as well as the wider Waldsee community, and the journey of exploration and consultation that led to the creation of an advisory committee and a consensus decision to keep the Waldsee name. The authors will also show that the connection between history and

memory impacted the people involved in the Waldsee story and controversy on an intensely personal level, revealing a deeply intertwined forest of diverse identities and viewpoints.

The decision to keep the Waldsee name now creates a responsibility to commemorate the Holocaust. While these discussions are ongoing, part four will address which concepts for Holocaust commemoration and subsequent education are taking shape within CLV. The authors will place CLV's proposed programming in Holocaust education as well as commemoration within the context of American Holocaust awareness, education, and memorialization. They will show that Holocaust education in public schools is far from ubiquitous and that memorials, whether on public display or showcased on the campus of Concordia College or CLV, reflect institutional history and values, but may also change in meaning or be perceived differently over time. While keeping the Waldsee name entails the responsibility to teach and remember the Holocaust, the authors conclude that CLV has also created its own history and culture of memory surrounding the Waldsee name and that will have long-lasting implications for the identity and programming of the German language village.

SECLUDED BUT NOT ISOLATED: The Founding of Concordia Language Villages in the Shadow of the Berlin Wall and the Eichmann Trial

From Summer Camp to Mini-World

Woodland trees and lakes smooth as glass take us back to a simpler time. Campgrounds are set apart from the modern world, as if entering another realm of imagination and wonder where secrets and knowledge whisper amongst the great evergreen trees from spring to fall, summer and winter beyond. There is a whimsical, otherworldly beauty to this image. It was in this kind of woodland setting that a summer camp "blossomed into Concordia Language Villages" and a collection of fifteen language camps in the United States and China, where children and adults learn foreign languages in various interactive settings"[1] The idea of a mini-world started in the summer of 1960, on a fishing trip in a secluded area of Northern Minnesota.[2]

While today's expansive spread of fifteen language villages – each dedicated to iso-immersion language learning – has attracted over 150,000 students, young and old from across the country, since its beginnings in 1961,[3] Concordia Language Villages (CLV) had its humble beginnings in a simple idea about how to teach foreign languages to children. Dr. Gerhard Haukebo, an education professor at Concordia College,[4] had just returned from Germany after serving as an elementary school teacher with the Army Dependents Schools for four years. While there, he made some fascinating observations about the acquisition of

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[1] Jim Butcha, "Obituary: Gerhard Haukebo was a genius of teaching language" *Star Tribune,* October 27, 2012, http://www.startribune.com/obituary-gerhard-haukebo-was-a-genius-of-teaching-language/176119051/.
[2] Gerhard Haukebo, *A Brainstorm! The Creation of Concordia Language Villages… from a small but imaginative beginning,* Moorhead: Concordia College, 1994. No page numbers are listed in Haukebo's Memoir. The title page is considered the first page for these footnotes. Blank pages are included in counting pages.
[3] "Language Immersion Programs," Concordia Language Villages, accessed December 5, 2018, http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/.
[4] "Gerhard K. Haukebo, education 1959-1966," n.d., Faculty Cards, Concordia College Archives.

language.[5] He was amazed that his own children were picking up the language much faster than he himself or any of the other adults.[6] While Haukebo's German language skills still focused on mastering the grammar, his children were speaking German fluently.[7] He began to wonder if it were possible to recreate the environment that had allowed his children to pick up the language so easily, but closer to home.

While enjoying the outdoors on a fishing trip in the summer of 1960, Haukebo shared this idea of accelerated language learning with his colleague Dr. Erhard Friedrichsmeyer, a professor of German at Concordia College.[8] Both agreed to set plans in motion to bring a fully immersive language experience to Minnesota. Not long after the initial brainstorming took place, Haukebo and Friedrichsmeyer took their idea to the Academic Dean Dr. Carl Bailey as well as the President of Concordia College, Dr. Joseph L. Knutson, who both agreed to fund the project.[9]

For the first time in the summer of 1961, Concordia College offered a German language immersion experience at Lake Carlos, near Alexandria, Minnesota, where they rented the Luther Crest Bible Camp facilities.[10] The area was temporarily renamed "Lager Waldsee," which means "camp in the forest lake," for the duration of the camp. The first camp was a single session held for two-weeks, specifically for 9-12 year olds. Camp activities included the timeless name-changing that campers partake in, along with "learning songs, games, sports, and dances of Germany."[11]

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[5] Odell M. Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village: the Story of Concordia Language Villages: Memoir and Perspective*.
[6] Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village,* 15
[7] Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village,* 15.
[8] Haukebo, *A Brainstorm!,* 7.
[9] Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village,* 19.
[10] Haukebo, *A Brainstorm!,* 7.
[11] Haukebo, *A Brainstorm!*, 13.

The plan was to have the students speak only German while they were at the camp to improve their vocabulary and overall language skills. Friedrichsmeyer agreed to act as the dean for the camp and Haukebo took on the role of administrator. Camp staff members were either Concordia faculty or Concordia students, who acted as counselors but also worked in the kitchen and other faculties. The names of all the food, buildings, and camp locations were determined two days before the camp opened. All of the campers had come either from Minnesota or the Dakotas. The first weeks at Lager Waldsee were covered by multiple media sources and an article was written in the *Fargo Forum* and the Sunday Picture Magazine. A 30-minute documentary was also filmed and shown on KCMT-TV in Alexandria, MN.[12]

The original goal of the camp was for students to learn 200 new words and 50 new phrases within a period of two weeks,[13] but over the years, the goal changed and grew to become much more expansive. There were 75 campers that first year, and the immediate success of the summer language camp would spark the growth of not only Waldsee, but expand into an enterprise that today encompasses fifteen Concordia Language Villages. While Odell Bjerkness, the executive director of CLV from 1971-1989, emphasized that the focus was the spoken language as well as the activities and culture of a particular country, he dreamed much bigger:[14] "Our dream has always been the creation of a 'mini-world' here in Minnesota. Once realized, the program focus will be on economic, cultural and 'diplomatic' exchanges among the Language Villages."[15]

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[12] Haukebo, *A Brainstorm!,* 14.
[13] Haukebo, *A Brainstorm!*, 30.
[14] Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village,* 26-27.
[15] "Odell M. Bjerkness to Dr. Rüteger Stephan, Robert Bosch Stiftung in Stuttgart, April 10, 1986," Concordia College Villages, Record Group 35; Administration & Development, 1967-2009, Series 2; Development & Strategic Plans, 1976-2008, Subseries 6; German Development, File Folder 28, Concordia College Archives.

The CLV narrative about German language learning was deeply influenced by educational concerns about American political and economic competitiveness in the world and perspectives of Germany as a western democracy. In his recently published memoir, Bjerkness situated the founding of Waldsee within the context of the Sputnik launch and the early Cold War – both testimony to the need for language learning to confront challenges and tear down walls.[16] In an interview with the *Bemidji Pioneer* in August 2018, he highlighted the "Concordia Language Villages' method of teaching" as "dynamic, engaging and filled with excitement." and underlined that language acquisition and cultural learning at CLV also entailed a commitment to global citizenship. "Its goal, especially, is to help young people understand the diversity of those from different cultures and in that process, to become supporters of the world peace movement."[17] This statement is also reflected in the mission statement of CLV today.[18]

Moving back into the historical timeline of Waldsee and CLV itself, we travel to Waldsee's first few years following the initial camp. By the second year of CLV, a French camp was added, and within only a few years, several more languages were added encompassing German (1961), French (1962), Norwegian and Spanish (1963), Russian (1966), Swedish (1975),

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[16] Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village,* 138-141.

[17] Jordan Shearer, "Village Chronicles: Former Director Recounts History of Concordia Language Villages," *The Bemidji Pioneer*, August 12, 2018**.**

[18] See CLV's mission statement:

> Concordia Language Villages is to inspire courageous global citizens.
> A courageous global citizen lives responsibly by:
> - appreciating and seeking to understand diverse cultural perspectives;
> - communicating with confidence and cultural sensitivity in multiple languages;
> - respecting human dignity and cultivating compassion;
>
> engaging critically and creatively with issues that transcend boundaries; and
> advancing a more just, peaceful, and sustainable world for all.

Concordia Language Villages, "Our Mission," accessed Nov. 13, 2018. http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/who-we-are/our-mission.

Finnish (1978), Danish (1982), Chinese (1984),[19] Japanese (1988), Korean and English (1999), Italian (2003), Arabic (2006), and Portuguese (2008).[20]

After a couple years of holding camp in Alexandria, it was decided to find a permanent location for the camp to be held every summer. The idea was to build actual villages for each of the languages taught. These villages would reflect the culture and country of the language spoken there. In 1964, letters were sent out to twenty-nine communities in northern Minnesota in search for available land on a lake. All of the communities responded and thus the hunt for the perfect location began,[21] and with a permanent location came the transition from "camp" to "village."[22]

In 1966, a committee was created to visit all twenty-nine sites and decide upon the best one. After visiting all locations, the committee decided that an 800-acre site on Turtle River Lake, six miles north of Bemidji, had the most potential for a camp. From April 15 to May 2 of the same year,[23] Gerry Haukebo, Charles Mayo II, and Ron Siverson traveled to Germany, Norway, and France to find inspiration for the architecture of the villages. They visited Bonn, Germany, to get ideas for Waldsee, but a major question still remained. The group debated whether they should look to older architectural designs or focus on contemporary designs. In the end they decided to combine the two styles to create a classical style with a modern twist.[24]

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[19] Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village,* 24-25, 30 *Discrepancy in year concerning the Japanese Language Village, *Mori no Ike*. Pages 24-25 and the CLV website state it was made into a village in 1988, while page 30 of Bjerkness' memoir describe it as being made in 1989.
[20] "Media Resources," Concordia Language Villages, accessed December 11, 2018, http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/who-we-are/media-resources.
[21] Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village,* 108.
[22] Vernon P. Mauritsen, *Groundbreaking! Building Concordia Language Villages and Watching the Dream Grow...Memoirs of Vernon P. Mauritsen Director, Concordia Language Villages 1967-1971, (*Moorhead: Concordia College, 2005).
[23] In his memoir, Haukebo cited this trip took place in 1966, while Bjerkness, in "The Story of Concordia Language Villages" states the trip took place in 1963.
[24] Bjerkness, *It Takes a Village,* 112.

After the location had been decided and construction for the Norwegian village had gotten underway, the planning and designing of the German village Waldsee began in 1979. The first buildings were two log cabins, one named *Haus Katja,* which was built by students, and the other was an immigrant log cabin from New Germany that was given to the village as a gift. In 1981, the building of the village officially began with the construction of the *Schwarzwaldhaus.* This building that "has a design reminiscent of the half-timbered frame houses of the Black Forest region of Germany,"[25] was completed in 1982, and in the following years other buildings were constructed on the property, including the *Utgard* Activities Center, the *Gasthof,* the *Max Kade Haus für Deutsche Studien,* the *Laden,* and most recently, the *BioHaus* in 2007.[26] The village has grown since its founding to include additional buildings and more facets of German life.

While the choice of German language learning at CLV Waldsee had been informed by the founders' personal experience as U.S. servicemen in postwar Germany, Minnesota has its own rich German immigration history that provided a natural basis of interest in German language learning. The German experience in America in general and in Minnesota in particular had its ups and downs in the 20th century and largely reflected the changing U.S. relationship with Germany from erstwhile enemy during two World Wars to staunch ally during the Cold War and beyond.

[25] Bjerkness, *ItTtakes a Village*, 117.
[26] "Building Dedication," Concordia Language Villages, Record 35; Villages, 1960-2009, Series 2; Waldsee (German), 1960-2018, Subseries 4; Special Events, 1978-2010, Sub-subseries 4f; Building dedications, 1981-1985, 2007, File Folder 2, Concordia College Archives.

The German-American Experience and American Narratives about Germany

The beginnings of German society within Minnesota started before the state was even admitted to the Union. While Minnesota was very diverse in settlers,[27] the largest immigrant group within the state was overwhelmingly of German heritage.[28] The largest influx of German immigrants took place between 1814 and 1914, when some five and a half million Germans, motivated by political and/or economic reasons, started looking for a better life in America, and many German immigrants settled in Minnesota.[29]

During the first half of the twentieth century, largely as a result of World War I and World War II, Germans and German-Americans were often viewed with suspicion and as potential traitors. During World War I, German-Americans, who were strongly antiwar in their beliefs, were subject to "verbal abuse and mob violence." Moreover, the Public Safety Commission banned any and all expressions of German culture,[30] and German language newspapers were looked upon with heightened scrutiny.[31] During World War II, anti-German sentiments even led to war crimes against German soldiers and the German civilian population suffered greatly under the indiscriminate aerial bombardment by the Allies.[32]

Yet German-American relations dramatically improved after World War II, when a defeated Nazi Germany gave way to a democratic West Germany whose economic reconstruction and political integration into the concert of Europe was central to U.S. foreign

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[27] Robert J. White, "Minnesota and the World Abroad," *Daedalus,* 129, no.3 (2000): 307-334.
[28] Rhoda R. Gilman, "The History and Peopling of Minnesota: Its Culture," *Daedalus,* 129, no. 3 (2000): 1-29.
[29] Clarence A. Glasrud, *A Heritage Fulfilled: German Americans* (Moorhead: Concordia College, 1984).
[30] Gilman, "The History and Peopling of Minnesota," 8.
[31] Matthew Lindaman, "Heimat in the Heartland: The Significance of an Ethnic Newspaper," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 23, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 78-98.
[32] James J. Weingartner, "Americans, Germans, and War Crimes: Converging Narratives from 'the Good War,'" *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 4 (March 2008): 1164-1183.

policy. At first, American sentiments about Germany and Germans in the immediate aftermath of WWII were overwhelmingly negative and found initial expression in strict non-fraternization rules under U.S. occupation. Bitterness towards Germans and desire for punishment was prevalent in the immediate aftermath of the war. Under the Morgenthau Plan, Germany was to be reduced to an agricultural/pastoral country without an industrial-military machine that could ever pose a threat to peace again. Yet, General Lucius Clay, the American military governor in charge of U.S. occupation of Germany, served as a moderating voice amid calls for retribution, and strongly believed in a rehabilitated Germany that was vital to Europe's economic prosperity and political stability.[33]

In fact, as late as 1951, Americans struggled over German representations in American culture. The release of the film *Desert Fox*, which was based on an admiring biography of Nazi General Erwin Rommel, entered a web of competing discourses about Germany and Germans. Two narratives dominated American thinking about Germany in the early Cold War period that depicted Germans as either "nascent Nazis still bent on world domination" or as "dedicated democrats standing firm on the front line of the Cold War." The World War II narrative depicted Germany as a totalitarian state dictated by Nazism, while the Cold War narrative sought to define Germany as a new nation of "present heroism," where West Germans were "supporting the United States and the West in the Cold War." Moreover, this "narrative portrayed the German people as Western or 'Americanized,' and thus facilitated the adoption of prosthetic memories of Germany by emphasizing the sameness of the two peoples."[34] Undoubtedly, the narrative of a

[33] Gary Anderson, "Fifty Years of European Peace: The Role of Education in German-American Relations," Vital Speeches of the Day, 1999.
[34] Brian C. Etheridge, "*The Desert Fox,* Memory Diplomacy, and the German Question in Early Cold War America," *Diplomatic History* 32, no. 2 (March 10, 2008): 214-215.

rehabilitated and democratized Germany shaped the founders' vision of CLV as they created their cultural immersion experience at Lager Waldsee.

Lager Waldsee provided its first cohort of students with a secluded and immersive experience in German language learning, yet it did not stand isolated from the dramatic events of the summer of 1961. In fact, in his memoir about the story of CLV, former Executive Director Odell Bjerkness intentionally linked the founding of CLV Waldsee with the building of the Berlin Wall by highlighting the fact that both events took place during the very same week in August 1961. The dominant American narrative about Germany's significance and centrality to U.S. Cold War strategy in Europe would also shape and influence CLV's cultural immersion experience.

The Berlin Wall

Berlin, and West Berlin in particular, became a symbol of America's commitment to a free Europe and a democratic Germany. The symbolic significance of West Berlin was further highlighted during President John F. Kennedy's visit in 1963, when he vehemently defended his message of "freedom and peace." His visit dramatically showcased the American commitment to West Berlin and Germany. Kennedy famously proclaimed, "I am a Berliner," to the German people, emphasizing the virtues of democracy that all of humanity should be free as a people and as individuals.[35]

Hence during the early years of the Cold War, the American narrative about Germany began to deemphasize the memory of World War II, National Socialism, and the Holocaust in order to highlight the narrative about a the new, rehabilitated, and democratic West Germany that

[35] Robert G. Waite, "'Ish bin ein Bearleener' - JFK's 26 June 1963 Visit to Berlin: The Views from East Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 45, no. 4 (October 2010): 844-865.

stood shoulder to shoulder with the United States in the fight against Communism. West Berlin became "a symbol of the Cold War, which fostered the identity of West Berliners, and by extension of all West Germans, as foot soldiers on the front lines of this common struggle against totalitarianism."[36] Germany itself was looked upon differently for its defiance against the Soviet Union, and it was this narrative that would trump notions about the legacies of National Socialism, anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust.

In fact, the "American state played an indispensable role in framing and naturalizing the Cold War narrative of the German people."[37] The reason for this was rather simple: "Because most Americans understood Nazism as the antithesis of American ideals the government concentrated on persuading Americans that Nazism was vanishing from the German scene."[38] And it was. The American narrative about Germans shifted to that of a people desiring democracy. The common hatred and fear once felt towards Hitler's Germany had changed dramatically and was adapted rather easily to Stalin's Soviet Union.[39]

It was in this historical and cultural context that Concordia Language Villages were forged— when the narrative about Germany was changing from one tainted by Nazi ideals to one of a democratic Germany. Yet while both American policymakers as well as German government officials were keen on shaping the image and narrative about post-World War II Germany, the legacy of World War II would eventually deeply shape German identity and memory politics, commonly known as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*— "coming to terms with one's past." However, this shift to coming to terms with the Nazi past, to assume a moral

[36] Etheridge, "*The Desert Fox,*" 214-215.
[37] Etheridge, "*The Desert Fox,*" 215.
[38] Etheridge, "*The Desert Fox*," 216.
[39] Etheridge, "*The Desert Fox,*" 207-238.

responsibility to remember, and to make amends short of assuming collective guilt, was a process that developed over decades and reached prominence in the 1980s and 1990s.[40]

As a result, Germans have placed much emphasis on a "Holocaust-centered memory regime." This is specifically seen in the "dense network of Holocaust centered memorials, educational programs, and commemorative ceremonies," including the Berlin Holocaust Memorial, located in Germany. The "memory regime" was also a way to connect an otherwise divided population of Germans. Both West and East Berliners shared a "common past" with Hitler's Germany and the Third Reich. This dark past was considered an essential component of a collective German memory for their future security and it was translated into German foreign policy with doctrines revolving around "never again war" and "never again Auschwitz."[41]

Back in 1961, however, German memory politics were still focused on German suffering and the immediate menace of the communist aggression at their border, when the legacy of the Holocaust reared its ugly head most publicly and for everyone to see on prime-time television. The same year that West Berlin became the symbol of a besieged West, when East German authorities started constructing a wall that would become the most visible symbol of Cold War division and animosity, West Germans also had to confront the ghosts of their Nazi past with former SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann facing accusers and survivors in a Jerusalem courtroom.

[40] Mary N. Hampton and Douglas C. Peifer, "German Identity: Memory Sites and Foreign Policy," German Studies Review 30, no. 2 (May 2007): 371-390.
[41] Hampton and Peifer, "German Identity," 375-377.

The Eichmann Trial

The Eichmann trial began on April 11, 1961, in what would soon become a global event. Not only were documents sent in as evidence from around the world,[42] but it was also broadcast on television in thirty-seven countries. In Israel and other countries, where television was not widely in use, people could follow the trial on the radio.[43] Israel's strict military censorship was lifted specifically for the trial, allowing all broadcasts and videos to be made public.[44] German television covered the trial in great detail, airing footage about it two times a week for four months, with American television coming in at a close second. The German public media seemed saturated with coverage about the Eichmann trial, and according to a poll conducted at the time, 95 percent of Germans were at least somewhat familiar with the trial.[45] Another poll also revealed that roughly 32 percent of Germans believed that the media coverage about the Eichmann trial was excessive and overdone. Some Germans even complained that the trial was taking far too long to get the guilty verdict they all knew was inevitable.[46]

The Eichmann trial changed the cultural and political landscape about Holocaust memory in Israel, Germany, and the United States. It was watched by about 80 percent of the German population and opened up discussions about the Nazi regime that had previously been hushed and swept under the rug.[47] The trial provided evidence and an explicit description of the horrors of the Holocaust perpetrated by the Nazi regime; for most people following World War II, the trial served as their first real look at what the Nazi regime had done during the Holocaust. For

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[42] Homer Bigart, "Trial of Eichmann Opens Before Israeli Tribunal," *New York Times,* April 11, 1961, 14.
[43] Nicole Lampert, "The TV trial that shocked the WORLD," *Daily Mail,* January 17, 2015, 1.
[44] Bigart, "Trial of Eichmann," 14.
[45] Toby Axelrod, "How Eichmann Trial Changed Views on Shoah," *Jewish Exponent,* April 14, 2011, 14.
[46] Gerd Wilcke, "Eichmann Image Repels Germans: Housewife 'Can't Stand' TV Report on Nazi's Trial," *New York Times,* July 16, 1961, 1.
[47] Lampert, "The TV Trial That Shocked the World," 11.

many, it was their first introduction to in-depth knowledge about the events. It brought the horrors of the Holocaust into the limelight for the world to see by having survivors publicly tell their stories.[48] It was the first time since the war that people openly discussed the mass murder of European Jews.[49]

In the United States, the trial was shown right after the hit TV show "I Love Lucy" for two hours at a time.[50] The TV broadcast was made up of a series of programs which included taped summaries of the previous stages of the trial, a studio drama on Eichmann's life, interviews with Israeli officials, and a summary of reactions by West Germans, who were horrified about what had happened, but also felt that they shared in the guilt.[51]

While the trial was widely popularized as American society was already a heavily TV-oriented culture during the 1960s, it did not result in lasting awareness or knowledge about the Holocaust. The narrative of Eichmann's escape from Germany, capture in Argentina, and trial in Israel appealed to Americans' sense of adventure; Americans imagined a heroic representation of the war, so the narrative of Eichmann's capture fit that image well.[52] By appealing to Americans' existing interest in the "adventures" of World War II and surrounding events, the Eichmann Trial captured Americans' attention for a while. But it was not until the broadcast of another TV event in 1978, the series titled *The Holocaust*— which followed the fictitious characters of the Weiss family and their fate at the hands of the Nazis— that the persecution and murder of the Jews received sustained popular interest that would lead to a

[48] Axelrod, "How Eichmann Trial Changed," 15.
[49] Lampert, "The TV Trial that Shocked the World," 2.
[50] Lampert, "The TV Trial that Shocked the World," 2.
[51] Jack Gould, "TV: The Eichmann Trial," *New York Times,* April 10, 1961, 55.
[52] "Forum: The Eichmann Trial Fifty Years On," *German History* 29, no. 2 (2011): 265-282.

stronger cultural and educational response.[53] In fact, on November 1, 1978, President Jimmy Carter established the President's Commission on the Holocaust that would recommend the "establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust" and would eventually lead to the creation of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.[54]

While the Eichmann trial had focused the world's attention— albeit temporarily— on the horrors of the Holocaust and Eichmann's role in the murder of European Jews, Americans forgot to reflect upon their own past. The United States in general, and Minnesota in particular, has its own checkered past when it comes to Anti-Semitism and the social integration of Jewish Americans. Well into the 1950s Minnesota Jews had an uphill battle to fight, when confronting dominant narratives and majority rulings that proved discriminatory toward minorities including Jews.[55] Case in point, in 1956, just a few years prior to the Eichmann Trial and the founding of Waldsee, plans were being prepared for Minnesota's centennial ceremony in 1958. An emblem was created for the event that was supposed to capture everything that defined Minnesota as a state. Among

Karen Faster, "A Cross to Bear: The Minnesota Centennial Emblem Debate," *Minnesota History* 61, no. 3 (Fall 2018).

[53] James E. Young, "America's Holocaust: Memory and the Politics of Identity," ed. Flanzbaum, Hilene, *The Americanization of the Holocaust,* 68-82.
[54] "The President's Commission on the Holocaust," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed December 10, 2018, https://www.ushmm.org/information/about-the-museum/presidents-commission.
[55] Michael Gerald Rapp, *An Historical Overview of Anti-Semitism in Minnesota, 1920-1960, with Particular Emphasis on Minneapolis and St. Paul*, Dissertation Abstracts International, 1977.
Elaine Tyler May, "Cold War Minnesota," *Minnesota History* 61, no. 5 (Spring 2009): 218-229.
Laura E. Weber, "'Gentiles Preferred': Minneapolis Jews and Unemployment, 1920-1950," *Minnesota History* 52, no. 5 (April 1991): 166-182.

agricultural symbols such as a farm and silo, the emblem featured a Christian cross as the emblem's only religious symbol. This not only upset Minnesotans who did not subscribe to the Christian faith, but also resulted in a year-long process charged with finding a solution that would reflect a consensus by the majority.

The issue was brought forward by Samuel L. Scheiner of the Minnesota Jewish Council (later the Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota and the Dakotas), who wanted the cross removed from the emblem because it represented exclusion rather than inclusion and violated separation of church and state.[56] A long series of negotiations over the cross and its possible removal ensued. At one point, Catholic Archbishop William O. Brady stated that Jews shouldn't waste their time arguing about the cross because the church would defend them in times of persecution. Moreover, he bluntly added, "atheists, agnostics, and the ACLU had no business protesting the cross, because they were not present when Minnesota was founded." The Archbishop's statement only highlighted his ignorance.[57] With an emblem only displaying the cross and no other religious symbol, Jewish Minnesotans and any other persons who were not of the Christian faith were de facto written out of Minnesota history.

Toward the end of the debate and by the time the centennial celebration was to take place, a poll was taken by the *Star Tribune* that asked whether or not the cross should stay on the emblem. The poll results only revealed responses by Catholics and Protestants; the newspaper article did not mention whether Jews were even polled. Unsurprisingly, the results strongly supported the decision to keep the cross: 82 percent of Catholics and 62 percent of Protestants

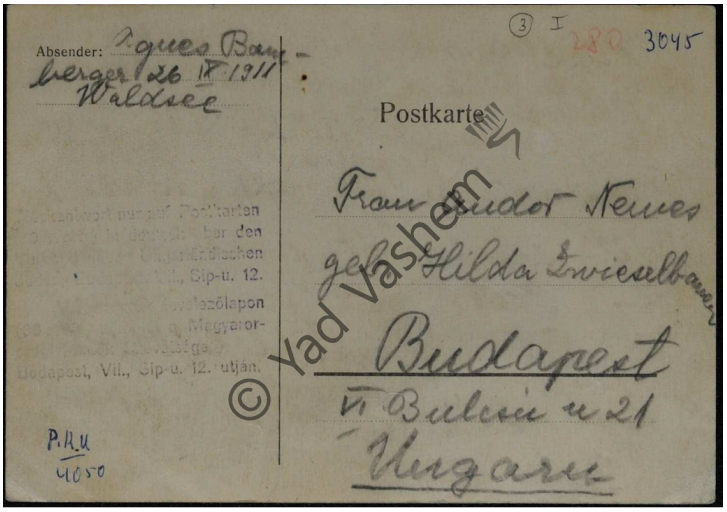
[56] Karen Faster, "A Cross to Bear: The Minnesota Centennial Emblem Debate," *Minnesota History* 61, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 102.
[57] Faster, "A Cross to Bear," 106.

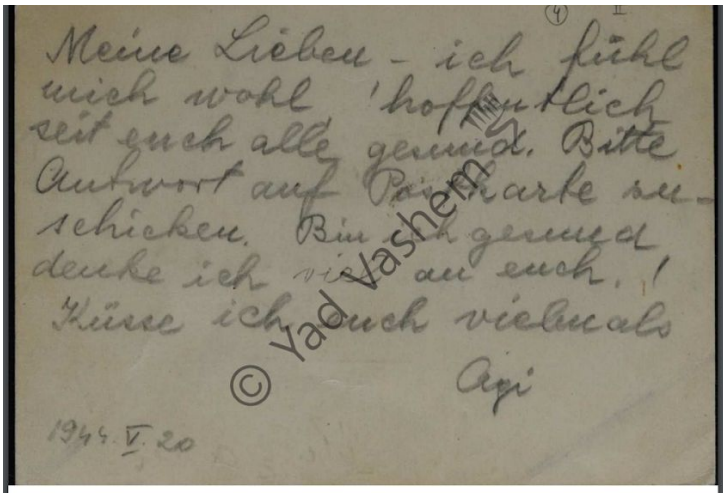
were in favor of keeping the cross on the emblem.[58] While the ultimate decision to keep the cross as part of the emblem was the result of ethnic, political, and religious variables in the state, including an urban-rural divide and political maneuvering within the Democratic party, it was also symptomatic of a lack of sensitivity, if not persistent antisemitism in American culture.

The regional, national, and international context of CLV Waldsee's beginnings help frame the larger cultural milieu at the time. While the language camp was secluded by geography deep in the northern Minnesota woods, the story of CLV Waldsee was neither isolated from the regional history of Minnesota nor from events that took place thousands of miles away in Germany and in Israel. The founding of CLV coincided with monumental historical markers – the building of the Berlin Wall at the height of Cold War tensions and the trial of Adolf Eichmann. The former stood as a symbol of both a free West Berlin and a divided Germany, and the latter began public debate about the Holocaust as well as German guilt and responsibility on a greater scale. Yet it would take decades before the German language village realized that its very name — Waldsee, translated as "lake in the woods" or "forest lake"— was intimately connected with the horrors of the Holocaust.

[58] Faster, "A Cross to Bear," 109.

WALDSEE 1944: Auschwitz and the Waldsee Postcard Deception in History and Memory





On May 20, 1944, thirty-three year-old Agnes Bamberger, like many of her fellow Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz, was forced to write a false postcard to her relatives back home assuring them that she was healthy and doing well: "I feel fine. Hopefully you are all healthy. Please send an answer by postcard. When I'm healthy, I think of you a lot. I send many kisses to you, your Agi [see image, left]."[59] While the postcard appeared to have been sent from a place called Waldsee, a name that evokes an idealistic image of a quaint lakeside town nestled in the woods, in reality this final message from Agnes to her loved ones came from Auschwitz, the largest and most notorious of Nazi death camps. Agnes, like so many other Hungarian Jews accompanying her, had been forced to write the misleading postcard just before being led to her death in the gas chambers.

[59] Translation and images are both taken from "False postcard sent from Auschwitz, May 20, 1944," European Holocaust Research Infrastructure, accessed December 7, 2018, https://training.ehri-project.eu/e01-false-postcard-sent-auschwitz.

Hungary 1944

In May 1944, the Nazi murder of European Jews had reached Hungary. Under the direction of SS Lt. Colonel Adolf Eichmann a mass deportation of the last major surviving population of European Jews began. Within a matter of months, from May 15 to July 9, over 430,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz and many were sent to the gas chambers upon arrival.[60] Yet not long after the initial deportations, those who had been left behind received postcards from friends and family members postmarked from a place called Waldsee, instilling hope that the deportees had arrived in an idyllic resort town, a place with good work, and that they were doing well. The content of the postcards must have been a breath of fresh air for their worried relatives back home, but instead they represented the most cruel of deceptions.[61]

The Waldsee postcards were part of a massive library of euphemisms that the Nazi regime used to code their language and disguise the blatant truth of the Final Solution.[62] The postcards sent back to Hungary were written by people on their way to the gas chambers, dictated word for word under the scrutiny of SS officers. As careful as the Nazis were, they were not able to catch every attempt by their captives to reveal their sinister fate to the outside world. Some managed to hide messages in what little Hebrew they were able to include in their notes, replacing their names to spell out "hungry" and "unclothed," cracking the illusion the Nazis had crafted about the supposed resettlement of the Jews.[63] Fulop Freudiger, a member of the Hungarian Jewish Council, which had been charged to distribute these "false messages of hope"

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[60] "Genocide in the 20th Century: The Nazi Holocaust 1938-1945 6,000,000 Dead," The History Place, 2000, http://www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/holocaust.htm.
[61] Hedvig Turai, "Waldsee 1944 Postcard Exhibition: A 'Woodland Lake' in Auschwitz," *Judaism* 55, no. 3 (2006): 67.
[62] Turai, "Waldsee 1944 Postcard Exhibition," 66.
[63] Turai, "Waldsee 1944 Postcard Exhibition," 65.

in Budapest, noticed that the postmark "Waldsee" had been superimposed over a different address, eventually deciphered as Auschwitz.[64] At the trial of Adolf Eichmann, Freudiger testified about how he discovered the truth about the postcards' place of origin:

> We went to Krumey and asked him where Waldsee was. At first he replied 'in central Germany'; after that he said: 'in Thueringen.' We searched for it on maps, we found it, we did not find it. It may have been a small place. At any rate, the deception about Waldsee lasted for a long time, two weeks, three, four, until they realized it was not worthwhile to lie, that we knew the truth… I noticed that where 'Waldsee' had been written, there had been an erasure… I examined it and I saw the letters 'ITZ' were still visible on the postcard. Someone had made a mistake and had written 'Auschwitz' instead of 'Waldsee,' as they had been told to do. Afterwards he had erased it and had written 'Waldsee.' I took the postcard and, the next morning, I went to Krumey and said to him: 'Our people are in Auschwitz and not in "Waldsee."'... After that no more postcards came from 'Waldsee.' In actual fact, there was no longer any people who could write."[65]

The tactic of deception was not unique to the Holocaust in Hungary. The Nazis employed similar tactics during the deportations in many other countries, but it was these postcards sent to Hungarian Jews that would — decades later — prove central to the emergence of Holocaust awareness and memory in Hungary and in turn confront the German Language Village Waldsee with an uncomfortable truth.

The Holocaust was part of Hitler's long-term plan to create his vision of a purely Aryan German empire. The imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of people provided a huge source of slave labor which was enormously helpful for the German war effort. Anti-Semitism and racism in Hitler's Germany were deliberately stoked and played off of the nationalistic wave his party embraced; by designating the Jewish people as the cause of Germany's problems, the Nazis could channel potential dissent into fear of the other.[66] The end goal of the Nazi regime was an

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[64] Turai, "Waldsee 1944 Postcard Exhibition," 65.
[65] "The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Session 52," The Nizkor Project, 2012.
[66] Leon A. Jick, "Method in Madness: An Examination of the Motivations for Nazi Mass Murder," *Modern Judaism* 18, no. 2 (1998): 157-158.

empire in their ideal image that encompassed as much of the world as it possibly could. With the Aryan race as the dominant power, the empire would have been run entirely on racism and subjugation of minorities. The stepping stones of this plan were systematic smearing, oppression, and later murder of the Jewish people in Europe, as well as other victims including the Roma, the disabled, and those disloyal to the regime.[67]

Throughout World War II the Nazis put up a front as to what was being done to the Jews of Europe. The idea of resettlement was toyed with at first, including ideas of sending Jews and other "undesirables" to some remote place like Madagascar or Siberia.[68] While those dead-end talks went on, the rounding up and deportation of massive numbers of people to camps could not be hidden from the outside world, so the concentration camps were instead referred to as "labor camps." To keep up the façade to the International Red Cross, camps such as Theresienstadt in Czechoslovakia were showcased as examples of model camps, where prisoners were made to look as though they were being treated humanely with decent living quarters, access to plumbing, and respectable work.[69] Yet the Nazi web of lies and deception could not hide the ever-expanding network of killing centers across Eastern Europe and the accelerating pace of the murder of millions.

The situation for Hungarian Jews before the war and continuing for most of the duration of the war had been somewhat unique. Compared to other European countries, the Jewish community in Hungary had experienced a "golden age" of tolerance in the mid-19th century until

[67] Jick, "Method in Madness," 158.
[68] Jick, "Method in Madness," 161-162.
[69] Saul S. Friedman, ed and Laurence Kutler, trans, *The Terezin Diary of Gonda Redlich* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 70.

the 1920s and managed to flourish in spite of ever-present antisemitism.[70] That tolerance, however, was found almost exclusively within the higher classes of Hungary, and those in power were quick to join the anti-Semitic wave that intensified when Hungary joined the Axis powers. Even before German occupation in 1944 approximately 63,000 Hungarian Jews had lost their lives as a result of anti-Semitic violence.[71] While Jews in Hungary were largely able to keep their property and occupations, the invasion by Nazi Germany would take away the last semblance of normalcy for the community.

By early 1944, when German defeat seemed inevitable and the Hungarian government had begun secret talks of surrender with the Allies, Nazi Germany reacted promptly by occupying Hungary in mid-March and imposing its racial laws on the population there.[72] By April, Hungarian Jews were being rounded up into ghettos and made to wear the yellow star. Shortly thereafter, mass deportations began, the majority bound for Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland, with those who managed to remain in Hungary soon receiving postcards from relatives and friends postmarked from Waldsee.[73] The deportations lasted only until early July 1944, but the impact of those four short months was nightmarish. Before the German occupation the Jewish population in Hungary had been around 762,000. By the official end of German occupation in April 1945 roughly 564,000 or about 75 percent of Hungarian Jews had been murdered.[74]

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[70] Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*. Condensed ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 22.
[71] Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 525.
[72] Randolph L. Braham and Scott Miller, eds, *The Nazis' Last Victims: The Holocaust in Hungary*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cord-ebooks/detail.action?docID=3416554.
[73] Braham and Miller, *The Nazis' Last Victims.*
[74] Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 525.

Auschwitz: The Reality

The murder of most Hungarian Jews was carried out in Auschwitz, the largest of all Nazi death camps. In its five years of existence, Auschwitz grew to include more than forty-four sub-camps and amounted to a murderous industrial apparatus of efficiency that served as concentration camp; slave labor camp for German firms like IG-Farben, Siemens, Krupp, and Volkswagen; transit camp; POW-camp for Soviet prisoners; and extermination camp responsible for the murder of 1.3 million Jews from throughout Europe.[75] The rapid deportation of Hungarian Jews was facilitated not only by the collaboration of Hungarian government authorities but also by Nazi efforts to deceive and mask the ultimate destination for Hungarian Jews — Auschwitz became Waldsee, a name that carried with it the hope that deportation meant a new, brighter beginning rather than death. For many of the deported Hungarian Jews, this hope was quickly snuffed out by the brutality they met upon entering Auschwitz.

The Red Army liberated Auschwitz on January 27, 1945, but the victorious Soviet Union did little to nothing to remember the Jewish lives lost. In fact, throughout Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe, memory about the victims of Fascism never specifically mentioned the murder of six million Jews. The Soviet narrative dominated in post-World War II Hungary as well, and much of Hungary's own history during World War II faded from the collective memory. Information about the Holocaust was virtually inaccessible to those living under Soviet rule for over four decades. It was not until the crumbling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of

[75] Gideon Greif, "Auschwitz: The Similar and the Unique Characteristic Aspects of the Largest German-Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp," EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies, accessed December 7, 2018, https://training.ehri-project.eu/auschwitz-similar-and-unique-characteristic-aspects-largest-german-nazi-concentration-and.

the Soviet Union in 1991 that archival records became accessible to scholars.[76] However, even after the archives were opened, information about the Holocaust in Hungary was of minor concern; most scholars were much more interested in Cold War events such as the Cuban missile crisis[77] than in the Holocaust. As a result, Holocaust awareness and memory in Hungary is a fairly recent phenomenon.

While Holocaust memory came late to Hungary, it is Auschwitz as the site of murder of most Hungarian Jews that has been of particular significance and centrality to Hungarian Jewish memory of the Shoah in specific and Holocaust awareness in Hungary in general. And that brings us back to the Waldsee postcard deception.[78]

Hungarian Holocaust Memory

In 2002, Hungarian-Jewish author Imre Kertész received the Nobel Prize in literature for his semi-autobiographical novel *Fateless*[79] about a 14 year-old Hungarian Jew's experience in the Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps.[80] His writing often centered around the Holocaust in Hungary, but it was in *Fateless* that he described the cruel deception associated with a place called Waldsee: "I'm completely ignorant how (but some adults did discover it) we learned that our journey's end was a place named Waldsee. When I was thirsty or hot, the

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[76] Raymond L. Garthoff, "Some Observations on Using the Soviet Archives," *Diplomatic History* 21, no. 2 (1997): 244.
[77] Garthoff, "Some Observations," 243.
[78] Since the end of World War II, there has been a considerable amount of scholarship pertaining to the Holocaust in Hungary but relatively little specific to the Waldsee postcards. Historians like the Hungarian Randolph L. Braham spend much of their careers focused on the Holocaust in Hungary. Braham has published many important works, including the monumental *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, an overview of the Final Solution in Hungary. Other scholars focus more on compiling primary sources from Hungarian Jews and eyewitnesses to the deportations, including Andrew Handler's *The Holocaust in Hungary: An Anthology of Jewish Response,* a collection of Hungarian Jewish sources. Hedvig Turai's "Waldsee 1944 Postcard Exhibition: A 'Woodland Lake' in Auschwitz" is one of the more recent sources pertaining specifically to the Waldsee postcards and the Holocaust in Hungary.
[79] "Imre Kertesz speaks to himself," *The New Yorker,* May 2, 2013, https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/imre-kertsz-speaks-to-himself.
[80] Turai, "Waldsee 1944 Postcard Exhibition," 67.

promise contained in that name immediately invigorated me."[81] This passage of the novel illustrates the hope that the deception instilled in deportees along with the cruelty of the Nazi regime for exercising this deceptive tactic. In addition to *Fateless*, the 60th anniversary of the deportations of Hungarian Jews in 2004 brought greater awareness about the Holocaust to the Hungarian public.[82] But ultimately, it was an art exhibit that same year that would draw particular attention to the most tragic and sinister elements of the murder of Hungarian Jews.

In May of 2004, an exhibit titled "Waldsee 1944" was presented in Budapest for the first time.[83] András Böröcz, after the discovery of several original Waldsee postcards in the Budapest Jewish Museum, was inspired to curate an artistic exhibit around the Waldsee deception.[84] Artists were invited to create their own artistic representations of the Waldsee postcards which were then included in the exhibit [see images, following page[85]]. Although no actual Waldsee postcards were included in the exhibit, the artistic representations were just as powerful and thought-provoking as the originals. The postcard exhibit was a huge success, eventually on display in cities such as New York and including additional postcards and artists along the way.[86] The exhibit provided an in-depth look at a specific event during the Holocaust, the Waldsee deception, that catalyzed interest and knowledge of the murder of Hungarian Jews both in Hungary itself and abroad. In fact, "Waldsee 1944" has become part of what Pierre Nora calls

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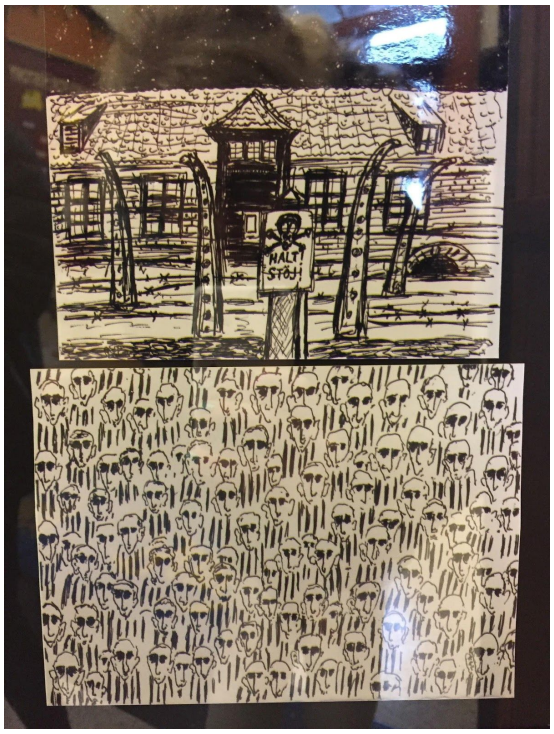
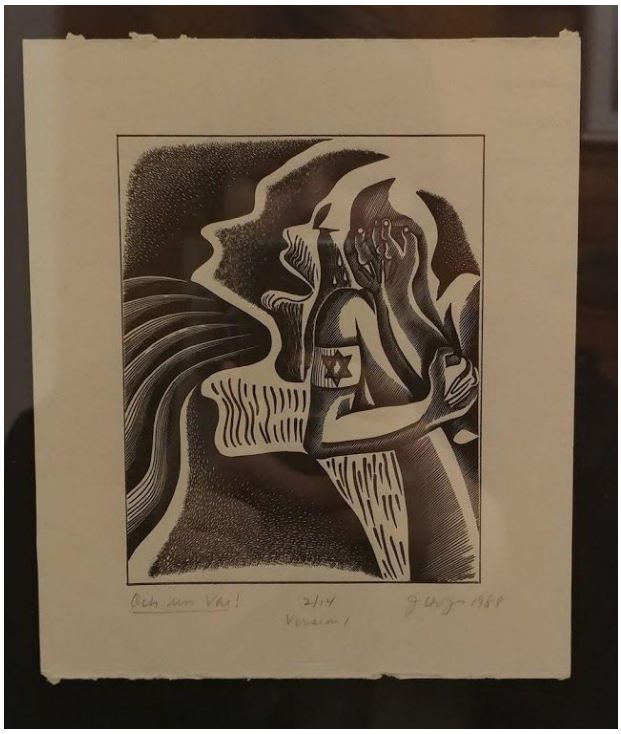
[81] Imre Kertész, *Fateless,* trans. Christopher C. Wilson and Katharina M. Wilson (Evanston Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992): 54.
[82] Turai, "Waldsee 1944 Postcard Exhibition," 67.
[83] "Waldsee 1944," Alma on Dobbin, 2014, accessed November 8, 2018, http://almaondobbin.org/exhibition/waldsee-1944-1.
[84] "Waldsee 1944," Alma on Dobbin.
[85] All photographs taken by the authors. For additional images, see Appendix C.
[86] Menachem Walder, "Postcards From (Death) Camp Waldsee- 1944 August 17, Mon-Thurs 9-5, Fri. 9-3," Aug 17, 2005, http://huc.edu/news/2005/08/17/postcards-death-camp-waldsee-1944-august-17-mon-thurs-9-5-fri-9-3.

"lieux de mémoire" (sites of memory)[87] in Hungarian culture, further underlined by the release of Michael Csányi-Wills' composition titled 3 Songs "Budapest 1944": No.1 Waldsee Postcard.[88] The composition is part of a trio of songs centered around the events of 1944 in Budapest, including the Waldsee postcard deception. Hungarian art, music, and literature now acknowledge the tragedy, providing a site of memory for Hungarians to learn about their own history and involvement in the Holocaust.

As a result of growing Holocaust awareness and memory in Hungary, in the fall of 2017 it only took one Google search to immediately stumble upon a wealth of information about Waldsee's Nazi past and its connection to Auschwitz.





[87] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7-24.
[88] Michael Csányi-Wills, "3 Songs "Budapest, 1944": No. 1. The Waldsee Postcard," *Songs with Orchestra*, Toccata Classics, 2016.

A DEEPLY INTERTWINED FOREST:

CLV Waldsee in the Crucible of History and Memory

Alex Treitler and the Discovery of the 1944 Waldsee

It was in the fall of 2017 that Alex Treitler, President of Life Language International, began his online search to find out more about Concordia Language Villages and its German language immersion program. His children had attended Sjölunden, the Swedish language village, and were interested in spending a retreat at CLV Waldsee. Out of habit, as he explained in an interview with the authors, Treitler typed "Waldsee" and "Nazi" into the Google search engine and to his surprise, there was more than a faint connection between the two. Treitler was stunned and shocked to find that Waldsee, the very name that conveyed the idyllic setting of a summer camp situated at a forest lake, had been used as a euphemism for Auschwitz. How was it possible that a German language immersion site in northern Minnesota chose Waldsee, of all words, as the name of their summer camp in the first place? And if chosen out of ignorance about the Nazi connection back in 1961, why was CLV still unaware of Waldsee's dark connotations in 2017?[89]

Treitler expressed his discontent along with his immediate frustration and outrage in a blog post titled "from family camp to concentration camp." But besides venting his anger and disappointment, Treitler did not immediately know what to do with this newfound discovery. As the months passed, and after significant research and internal reflection, Treitler decided that it was finally time to contact the Executive Director of Concordia Language Villages, Christine Schulze.[90] In his email to Schulze on April 19, 2018, Treitler did not hesitate to express his

[89] Alex Treitler in conversation with the authors, November 2, 2018, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN.
[90] Alex Treitler in conversation with the authors, November 2, 2018.

irritation: "I am quite stunned that in the face of such readily available information, your organization would have selected a name that harkens to a period in German history that has forever marked both the German language and German culture."[91] Could such an accusation imply that Schulze was well aware of this dark and twisted story regarding the Waldsee deception? Treitler proceeded to provide a multitude of evidence in the form of online sites and forums, as well as quotes from documents regarding the Waldsee deception, in order to highlight the unmistakable connection between the Waldsee of 1944 and the picturesque Waldsee in northern Minnesota. He concluded his first of many emails to Schulze by criticizing CLV's apparent lack of sensitivity: "Above all, what has impressed me among the Germans with whom I have had conversations on the topic is their sense of personal responsibility for the legacy of the Holocaust, and that they have accepted the necessity of continually cultivating a level of sensitivity and awareness as part of their national identity. I am shocked because Concordia does not appear to have followed suit in cultivating such sensitivity."[92]

To Treitler's surprise, however, Christine Schulze was just as shocked as he was. In an interview with the authors she described how her heart sank when she learned of Waldsee's meaning as a euphemism for Auschwitz, and that she even felt embarrassed that it wasn't caught sooner.[93] The dark undertone behind the Waldsee name had never once come up in the fifty-seven years of CLV's existence. The very credibility of this world-renowned language immersion program was now being called into question. Schulze immediately conferred with the

[91] Alex Treitler, "Concordia College Language Villages," Email to Christine Schulze, April 19, 2018.
[92] Treitler, "Concordia College Language Villages," Email to Christine Schulze, April 19, 2018.
[93] Christine Schulze in conversation with Ivy Durand and Samara Strootman, November 2, 2018, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN.

Deans of Waldsee and assured Treitler that this matter would be addressed head on and serve as a "learning opportunity" for CLV and its community.

Alex Treitler's initial outrage then gave way to guarded optimism. He was intrigued as well as pleased with CLV's prompt response. It should go without saying that most people don't make it a habit to actively look for Nazi associations with everything German. However, Treitler's personal background and identity helps shed light as to why he had developed this search habit. While Treitler was raised Christian with little to no Jewish influence during his childhood, he did learn later in life (when his father became more open about his Jewish heritage) that his grandfather had owned a furniture store in Dortmund, Germany, that was destroyed by Nazis thugs in 1933. Just two years prior, the family posed for a family picture with Treitler's aunt Gisela proudly displaying her Star of David necklace [see image, left]. Alex Treitler is still haunted by this dramatic turn of events in his father's life. In just two years' time, the Treitler family's fate had been completely upended. They had lost their very sense of safety, and soon their home would follow suit. As persecution of German Jews increased and life within Germany became intolerable, Treitler's grandfather decided that the best course of action was to leave Germany. By 1938, Treitler's grandfather was able to bring his immediate family to safety in the United States, thereby escaping the clutches of

(From Left to Right) Treitler's father Leo Treitler (not yet 1 year old), Treitler's aunt Gisela Treitler, and Treitler's uncle Fred Treitler. Photo courtesy of Alex Treitler.

Nazi Germany. The rest of his family, unfortunately, were not so fortunate. Treitler lost many members of his family in the Holocaust, and three of his grandparents were murdered at Auschwitz.

Treitler explained to the authors that the Star of David, one of the Jewish people's most beloved and peaceful symbols, was used by the Nazis as a form of weaponry that humiliated and dehumanized the very people who formerly took comfort in it.[94] The authors were struck by the significance of Treitler's statement, and it would go on to profoundly shape the remainder of their research. Treitler's discomfort stemmed from a fear of weaponizing the name Waldsee. This explained why, initially, Treitler vehemently pushed for changing the name of the summer camp. And yet, as a result of the CLV leadership's prompt response and willingness to address the matter, Treitler would decide to pursue a less confrontational course of action and begin to trust in a lengthy process of internal contemplation and outside consultation. By April 24, 2018, Treitler reassured the CLV deans that he wanted to work towards a solution with them. "When I raise my hand, my intention is to build up and improve rather than to tear down."[95]

Facing the Controversy: Responses and Recommendations

Alex Treitler's email to Christine Schulze on April 19, 2018 led to immediate first steps in addressing the Waldsee matter. Schulze's prompt response on April 20, 2018 not only clarified that CLV was unaware of the Nazis' use of the word Waldsee, but also informed Treitler that the German CLV deans, Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, would issue a "complete response by the end of the week."[96] The response from Hamilton and Olsen came on April 23, 2018. In a message to Treitler and Dr. Leslie Morris, director of the Center for Jewish Studies

[94] Alex Treitler in conversation with the authors, November 2, 2018, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN.
[95] Alex Treitler, "Conversation about Waldsee," Email to Dan Hamilton, April 24, 2018.
[96] Christine Schulze, "Conversation about Waldsee," Email to Alex Treiter, April 20, 2018.

and associate German professor at the University of Minnesota, the deans laid out a brief history of the German CLV and emphasized that they were "sensitive to the Nazi perversion of many aspects of the German language and culture." The deans even mentioned the fact that the German CLV was originally named Lager Waldsee, until "Lager" (meaning camp in German) was dropped, since "the connotation was negative."[97] The deans justified their claim to the name Waldsee by referencing that neither the town of Waldsee, located in the Rhineland, nor the resort town of Bad Waldsee were aware of the 1944 Waldsee deception. Yet, now that the connection had been revealed, as assured by the deans, the Waldsee controversy "signals to us that we should shine more light on this aspect of Germany's history." The deans further disclosed their intention to reach out to their alumni and partners, indicated their plans for a "place of remembrance," as a part of a "history walk," and invited Treitler and Morris to schedule a visit to the camp during the summer.[98]

In a follow up email to the German CLV deans on April 24, 2018, Treitler addressed the importance of being "clear about the perspective each of us brings and assumptions that each of us are making." For example, Treitler disagreed with Hamilton's conclusion that the Nazis perverted the German language. Instead, Treitler believed that the Nazi use of the German language was not a perversion but rather added new "layers of meaning" to the German language. According to Treitler, it is impossible to draw a distinction between a "Nazi German language and a true German language." There is just one German language.[99]

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[97] No documentary evidence of discussions surrounding this name change could be found in the Concordia College Archives. The only information present is the words and testament from the German CLV deans.
[98] Dan Hamilton, Jon Olsen, and Edwin Dehler-Seter, "Conversation about Waldsee," Email to Alex Treiter and Leslie Morris, April 23, 2018.
[99] Alex Treiter, "Conversation about Waldsee," Email to Dan Hamilton, Jon Olsen, Edwin Dehler-Seter, Leslie Morris, April 24, 2018.

It would take an entire month until there was another exchange between Treitler and the CLV deans. It was Treitler who reached out on May 23, 2018, in an attempt to receive further clarification about CLV's current and future plans.[100] Hamilton's response was sent mere hours after reading Treitler's message. In it, he reassured Treitler that the deans were committed to forming an advisory committee in order to formulate strategies that could deal with the Waldsee matter appropriately.[101]

Meanwhile, the deans reached out via email to villagers past and present, educators, scholars, and parents of villagers. In a letter titled "As you may know," the deans provided a [102] brief synopsis of the Waldsee deception, explained that they had been unaware of this horrible truth, announced that they would be dealing with the matter "reflectively, respectfully, meaningfully and inclusively" and listed immediate steps in addressing it by informing the Waldsee community as a matter of transparency, by forming an advisory committee that included leading scholars in German history, Jewish and Holocaust studies, k-12 education, teachers of German, and parents and alumni of Waldsee; and an ambitious initiative to host open public forums on International Days and to generate discussion among the village staff.[103]

While the overall responses to the Waldsee name revelation and CLV's commitment to turn this uncomfortable truth into a learning opportunity, were positive and offered constructive criticism and/or suggestions for moving forward, opinions were divided on the issue of whether or not to keep the name Waldsee. Thirty-eight of these emails, that would later be shared with members of the advisory committee, ran the gamut of reactions to the Waldsee revelation and

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[100] Alex Treiter, "Conversation about Summer visit," Email to Dan Hamilton, Jon Olsen, Edwin Dehler-Seter and Leslie Morris, May 23, 2018.
[101] Dan Hamilton, "Conversation about Summer visit," Email to Alex Treiter, April 23, 2018.
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CLV's first steps. Responses came from a diverse group of people, some of them Jewish themselves, representing educators, former villagers of Waldsee and other CLV sites, parents of current villagers, and alumni. Out of the thirty-eight respondents, seven called for a complete name change or slightly different synonym, seventeen preferred to keep the name Waldsee, and fourteen did not actively voice their opinion on the matter. Most of the community agreed with the CLV deans that this challenge presented a learning opportunity and could be used to highlight the educational mission of Concordia Language Villages—to "inspire courageous global citizens."[104]

Many responses reflected a deep personal connection with Waldsee and an emotional bond with a site of memory, whose name change they could not envision. Elmar Scharfig, a former Waldsee teacher, admitted that he had met his wife at Waldsee and "would feel deprived of parts of these memories, if the name were to be changed."[105] Other correspondents shared their despair over the revelation of the name controversy. Yvette Pintar, a Waldsee parent of Jewish heritage, stated that her family was devastated by the Holocaust. According to Pintar, thirty eight members of her family were lost in Auschwitz alone.[106]

Other CLV community members rejected the notion that the connection between CLV Waldsee and Auschwitz had any relevance today. Lya Friedrich Pfeifer, president of the Max Kade Foundation understood that there was a connection between the "words Auschwitz and Waldsee," but didn't "understand why after so many years of existence, there should be a name change."[107] Furthermore, another respondent to the Waldsee deans' announcement was inclined

[104] Dan Hamilton, Jon Olsen, and Edwin Dehler-Seter, "As You May Know," letter to Waldsee Community, May 29, 2018. http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/pdf/As_you_may_know.pdf
[105] Elmar Scharfig, "Waldsee Community Email Responses," Email to Dan Hamilton, June 7, 2018.
[106] Yvette Pintar, "Waldsee Community Email Responses," Email to Dan Hamilton, June 7, 2018.
[107] Lya Friedrich Pfeifer, "Waldsee Community Email Responses," Email to Dan Hamilton, June 7, 2018.

to believe that this newfound information should encourage other villages to explore their own difficult pasts.

During the German CLV's regular summer camp activities, the CLV deans undertook many informational sessions. These sessions invited villagers and their parents to share their feelings and concerns about the Waldsee controversy and whether to keep the name Waldsee. In addition, CLV contacted Hebrew Union College, where the 1944 Postcard exhibit had been housed, and with their permission, was able to showcase a duplicate exhibit at CLV Waldsee for the duration of the summer. As promised, the deans also invited a group of scholars and experts to be part of an advisory committee.[108]

The advisory committee convened for two days, from July 31 to August 1, 2018, in Bemidji, MN, and consisted of over a dozen individuals with a wide range of expertise, which included Jewish history and Holocaust studies, Jewish communal concerns, art, museum studies, and German language acquisition as well as US-German cultural relations. Some committee members also had direct connections to Waldsee, usually as a result of being a former counselor or parent of a villager.[109] Steve Hunegs, a former lawyer and the current executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota and the Dakotas, initially heard about the Waldsee controversy through Dr. Sonja Wentling, while they and other Holocaust educators convened for a regional meeting at the Fagen Fighter World War II Museum. Hunegs was already familiar with Concordia's immersion language site, and had previously sent his own children to the Spanish and Chinese villages.

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[108] "A Special Message to the Concordia Languages Community," sent September 2018, also posted on website: http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/news-and-events/post/waldsee-name-discussion-update#.XBXray2-Ku4

[109] See Appendix F for a full list of Advisory Committee members.

At first, Hunegs' approach to the Waldsee controversy was similar to Treitler's initial reaction. Hunegs believed that the logical next step was for Waldsee to change its name. Hunegs' view, however, began to change as a result of the advisory committee meeting. "The piece that made the biggest difference to me was sitting down and briefly talking with several CLV Waldsee counselors." Hunegs, Treitler, and Wentling (along with other members of the advisory committee) talked with both high school and college aged counselors and villagers from the German CLV in an attempt to understand the strong emotional attachments they had towards "their Waldsee." Hunegs was impressed with the passion these students displayed, and acknowledged the students' overall conclusion that the Nazis had contaminated the innocent nature of the word Waldsee. For this reason, Hunegs' attitude towards a proper course of action for CLV Waldsee changed, leading him to the realization that it would be too "devastating" for the villagers to lose the name they took so much pride in. Hunegs also pointed out that if the counselors did not embrace a name change, then it would be tough to spark any type of change within the German village. Hunegs' final conclusion was that the German CLV should keep the name it so deeply cares for, provided that it uses the name Waldsee to educate its villagers on the history and memory of the name.[110]

Dr. Sonja Wentling was nominated by Eric Eliason, Dean of Concordia College and Vice President of Academic Affairs, to serve on the advisory committee. Wentling was notified of her nomination via an email from Christine Schulze on May 29, 2018.[111] Interviews with Wentling reveal the nature of the two day advisory committee as being "very intensive," and "very structured." For example, all the members of the committee were given folders with a

[110] Alex Treitler and Steve Hunegs in conversation with the authors, November 2, 2018, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN.
[111] Christine Schulze, "Important information about Waldsee," email to Sonja Wentling, May 29, 2018.

compilation of email correspondence between the deans and scholars, educators, and CLV community members, as well as additional documentation about the 1944 Waldsee. Dan Hamilton presided over all the discussions at the advisory committee meeting, and due to time limitations there was little opportunity for committee members to debrief and discuss impressions and perspectives amongst each other. Schulze and the deans also led committee members on a detailed tour of Waldsee, with brief stops at other language sites, including the French, Spanish, and Norwegian villages. Overall, committee members were "open-minded," and "the advisory meeting was structured around committee members getting to know better the identity and mission of Concordia Language Villages." At the end of the summit, all committee members were asked to write down their thoughts and recommendations on a piece of paper, and Hamilton captured them with his phone, and in a way those photos constituted the "minutes" of the summit.

Wentling, a native Austrian, echoed Steve Hunegs' reaction to the meeting with the German CLV counselors and villagers. "It became clear that there was a deep emotional attachment to the name Waldsee." For many, "Waldsee was part of their upbringing." On the second day at a breakfast meeting in the BioHaus, Wentling, trying to sort out villagers' attachment to Waldsee and German language and culture, posed a question to a select group of teenagers: "What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Germany?" To Wentling's surprise the resounding response was World War Two and the Holocaust.[112] On the one hand, the teenagers insisted on a unique Waldsee identity as a place of learning, adventure, and summer fun, on the other hand, their first association with things German was World War II

[112] Sonja Wentling in conversation with the authors, December 12, 2018. Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota.

and the Holocaust. This paradox further highlighted the relevance of the Waldsee controversy and the mercurial dynamics between history and memory.

Alex Treitler left the advisory meeting with a greater appreciation for the significance of CLV Waldsee as an established institution and site of personal memories that felt like a home away from home to its faculty and villagers. Hence, if the language village was to simply give up the name, would that imply losing a part of what makes their institutional identity special? When he spoke with villagers at CLV Waldsee, Treitler also noted, along with other committee members, that younger villagers cared deeply about "their Waldsee." By the time the *Star Tribune* wrote about the Waldsee controversy, Treitler had arrived at the conclusion that keeping the Waldsee name was important to the CLV community, and maybe the better choice that would continue the journey of exploration and learning.

On October 19, 2018, the *Star Tribune* published an article titled "Concordia Language Villages confronts an ugly truth head-on as a step toward healing," providing a brief overview of CLV, the discovery about the meaning of the name Waldsee, and highlighting the steps taken by the CLV leadership to learn from history. It had been Treitler himself who originally approached the Minneapolis paper and provided feature writer Cindy Dickison with the names of people invested and involved in the Waldsee controversy. While the article itself covered the basics of the controversy well enough, what bothered Treitler was the title that framed CLV's response to the controversy as "a step toward healing." If memory of the Holocaust was allowed to lead to healing, would it then eventually fade from memory and be doomed to repeat itself once more? To Treitler, the Holocaust is more like an open wound, a gaping reminder of a painful past used in the hopes of protecting the future. And thus, by keeping the name and the open wound that

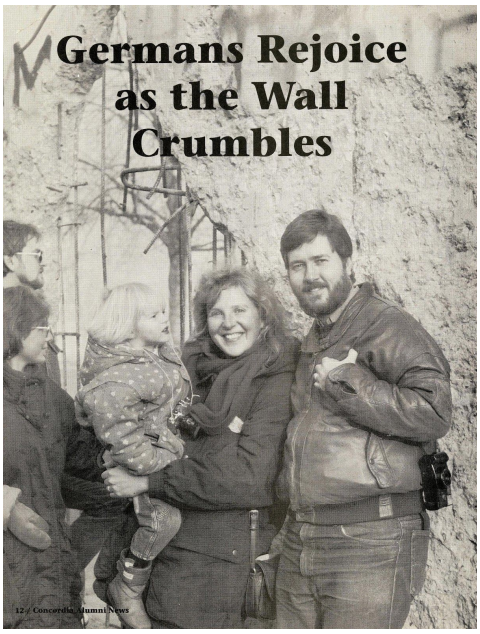
came along with it, CLV Waldsee could do more good than harm. By keeping the Waldsee name, CLV would be obligated to include some form of historical remembrance of the Holocaust and share it with their village community. In fact, on November 2, 2018, Treitler openly stated that he was in favor of the German CLV keeping the name Waldsee, and that the name could be used as a teaching opportunity for the history of the Shoah.[113]

CLV Waldsee Deans

The German CLV Deans Dan Hamilton, Jon Olsen, and Edwin Dehler-Seter have taken on the obligation to teach about the Shoah, and their longtime personal and professional connections with Germany and CLV influence their thinking about both the Waldsee name and programming. Dr. Hamilton, who is the dean during the second half of the summer, is the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation Professor and Founding Director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), at Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of over one hundred books and journals on contemporary European, transatlantic and international affairs and has also held a variety of senior positions in the U.S. Department of State. His professional connection with contemporary Germany is strong and includes a variety of transatlantic activities. In 2008 he worked as the first Robert Bosch Foundation Senior Diplomatic Fellow in the German Foreign Office and in 2012 Hamilton served as a member of German Chancellor Angela Merkel's Futures Advisory Group.[114]

His strong and longtime connection with Germany is well-captured in a photograph in front of a breached Berlin Wall, evidence of the dramatic days of November 1989 that caused a

[113] Alex Treitler and Steve Hunegs in conversation with the authors.
[114] https://archive.transatlanticrelations.org/fellows/daniel-s-hamilton/



(From right to left) Dan Hamilton, with his wife Heidi and their daughter Siri standing next to a damaged portion of the Berlin Wall.

wall to crumble and eventually brought about the collapse of the Soviet Union. Hamilton, who lived in Berlin at the time, experienced the momentous events firsthand. Posing with his wife and young daughter in front of a breach in the Berlin Wall, the smiles express deep joy (see image on left). When interviewed for *Concordia Alumni News* about the dramatic events of November 1989, he admitted that "it's hard to resist the emotion of the moment." "No country in the world," he elaborated, "felt the division of World War II as Germany did."[115] For forty-six years, Hamilton has not only been dedicated to the mission of CLV but also deeply connected with Germany's contemporary history.[116]

Dr. Jon Berndt Olsen is the dean of Waldsee for the first half of the summer. An associate professor of history at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, Olsen specializes in the history of modern Germany, with a focus on memory studies. In his book *Tailoring Truth: Politicizing the Past and Negotiating Memory in East Germany, 1945-1990* (2015), he explores the complexities of history and memory. Previous work at the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media as the editor of a website commemorating the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe further underlines Olsen's passionate engagement with contemporary German history. He also has a longtime connection with CLV Waldsee, where he has been on staff for twenty

[115] Carol Knapp Mahnke, "Germans Rejoice as the Wall Crumbles," *Concordia Alumni News* (Spring 1990), 13, Vertical Files, Biography Collection, Daniel S. Hamilton, Concordia College Archives.
[116] "Annual Report 2003," Concordia Language Villages, Record Group 35; Administration & Development, 1967-2009, Series 2; Annual Reports, 1991-2014, Subseries 1; Annual Report (2001-2005), File Folder 3, Concordia College Archives.

seven years, and before his employment, Olsen was also a villager at both the German and Norwegian camps.[117]

The third German CLV dean is Edwin Dehler-Seter. Dehler-Seter earned his teaching degree for secondary education from the University of Regensburg, Germany and an MS in Environmental Studies from Antioch New England Graduate School in Keene, NH. Dehler-Seter is the only German-born dean currently on staff at the German CLV. He is the dean for the year-round program as well as the environmental education and natural resource management specialist for CLV.[118]

Appreciating the personal and professional perspectives of the primary educators, the deans, is important when understanding their viewpoints towards the controversy. The deans at Waldsee have pride in their cutting-edge cultural immersion program that has been recognized not only on a national level, but on an international level as well. In fact, Hamilton is aware of CLV Waldsee's influence as a language school: "Now, we are what other teachers look to for how to teach language."[119] Hamilton attended Waldsee as a villager back in 1968, trained as a counselor in 1972, and quickly rose through the ranks, becoming dean in 1980. He has spent every summer at Waldsee since the age of twelve. Interestingly, Hamilton only missed a single summer retreat at German CLV, and it was the year he married his wife Heidi, whom Hamilton met at Waldsee and who has served as the Language Villages' research coordinator.

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[117] Concordia Language Villages, "Meet the Staff: Waldsee," accessed November 28, 2018, http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/youth-languages/german-language-village/meet-the-staff. Faculty profile, Department of History, UMassAmherst. https://www.umass.edu/history/member/jon-berndt-olsen. accessed December 12, 2018.
[118] Ibid.
[119] "Annual Report 2003," Concordia Language Villages, Record Group 35; Administration & Development, 1967-2009, Series 2; Annual Reports, 1991-2014, Subseries 1; Annual Report (2001-2005), File Folder 3, Concordia College Archives.

Additionally, Hamilton spent most of his early years in Germany, while his father served in the U.S. Air Force. To him, Waldsee was a fond reminder of the country he once called home. "People actually spoke German! I had grown up with that, so it was a comfortable place—one where people had a relationship to the language."[120] This quote from Hamilton captures the joy and admiration he has for the German language and culture as well as a sense of identity and belonging tied to German CLV. Not only was the camp part of his youth but CLV Waldsee is an institution into which he has poured countless hours of labor and intellectual capital. For his outstanding thirty years of service Hamilton received the Sage Award in 2003.

Someone would have to be hard-pressed to educate year round on German language, culture, and history if they did not possess a personal affection towards the subject matter; Hamilton and Olsen are both deeply invested in German culture and language, and also the German CLV. Edwin Dehler-Seter is an environmental educator who has trained CLV staff, helping other villages implement their own environmental programs. Being a native German speaker, Dehler-Seter brings valuable skills to the German CLV and his passion for the environment enabled the Waldsee and other villages to change their environmental programming and bring nature and the environment into German classrooms.[121]

It is interesting how the name Waldsee can engender opposing emotions in different stakeholders. To Alex Treitler, Waldsee triggers the most painful memory of the Jewish people: the murder of six million European Jews. To Dan Hamilton and those who make up the Waldsee community of former and present villagers, counselors, and deans, Waldsee represents a place of

[120] "Annual Report 2003," Concordia Language Villages, Record Group 35; Administration & Development, 1967-2009, Series 2; Annual Reports, 1991-2014, Subseries 1; Annual Report (2001-2005), File Folder 3, Concordia College Archives.
[121] Concordia Language Villages, "Meet the Staff: Waldsee," accessed November 28, 2018, http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/youth-languages/german-language-village/meet-the-staff.

summer fun, friendship, and community. These contrasting emotions and associations with Waldsee underline the tension between history and memory on a very personal level. There is an old saying in German: *Du siehst den Wald vor lauter Bäume nicht*— "you do not see the forest for all the trees." This proverb suggests that in life it is important to see the big picture that encompasses our lives. If we only focus on one aspect (one tree) of any topic, we risk missing out on all the factors that would otherwise contribute to an overall understanding of a situation.[122]

History and Memory Entangled and Disentangled

History and memory may appear to be very similar when compared side by side. However, there are subtle differences that keep these concepts separated. In "Why the Past Matters," William Cronon explains that "if the past is the place from which we have come, then memory and history are the tools we use for recollecting that place so we can know who and where we are."[123] Remembrance, in other words, gives us a sense of direction and guides us through life. But, what if we didn't retain any information? Imagine that the only way you could understand the world around you was to rely solely on the present moment, without the benefit of any past experience or knowledge. Life would be similar to living with Korsakoff syndrome, a disorder that prevents the processing and retaining of short-term memories. And losing one's memories is synonymous with losing one's ability to learn and adapt to life. Without memories, how could anyone hope to improve themselves or their current situation, especially if they can't reflect upon their past to better their future?

Cronon begins his article with a story about a man with Korsakoff syndrome named Jimmie. Korsakoff' syndrome affects the memory in such a way that the person affected by the

[122] Nick Schäferhoff, "21 Inspiring German Proverbs for German Learners," accessed November 8, 2018, https://www.fluentu.com/blog/german/learn-german-proverbs/.
[123] William Cronon, "Why the Past Matters," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 84, no. 1 (2000): 3.

disorder cannot "process and retain short-term memories" properly.[124] Jimmie seems perfectly content in his day to day life. However, Jimmie is perpetually stuck in a time that has long since passed. At first Jimmie's story seems to point towards the idea that ignorance is bliss, but there is a deeper truth. What is the substance of Jimmie's life if he is forced to repeat the same actions, words, and thoughts every day for the rest of his life? Jimmie had lost his memory, and "in doing so he lost his place in the world, his home, and a very large part of himself."[125]

Still, memories are not inherently reliable sources, whether they be subjective or collective in nature. As David Lowenthal points out in "History and Memory," "Psychological studies notably show that selective retention, temporal attrition, and deliberate manipulation (false memory syndrome) suffuse everyday recall with wrong memories."[126] Lowenthal follows this statement by clarifying that "historians have always known that error and self-interest warp evidence and interpretation."[127] This idea with regard to false memory syndrome, or artificial memories, can be connected to the words of Cronon. If the past is remembered incorrectly or incompletely, then memory cannot properly serve history, and history cannot serve as any sense of guidance to keep us from becoming lost. As a result, history would not be serving its fundamental purpose. David Rieff writes in "The Cult of Memory: when history does more harm than good," that "the memorializing of collective historical memory has become one of humanity's highest moral obligations."[128] Yet too much emphasis on remembering rather than forgetting the past has also led to unpleasantries such as war, revenge, and destruction. Both

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[124] Cronon, "Why the Past Matters,*"* 4.
[125] Cronon, "Why the Past Matters,*"* 4.
[126] David Lowenthal, "History and Memory," *The Public Historian* 19, no. 2 (1997): 31.
[127] Lowenthal, "History and Memory," 32.
[128] David Rieff, "The Cult of Memory: when history does more harm than good," *The Guardian*, March 2, 2016, accessed November 8, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/mar/02/cult-of-memory-when-history-does-more-harm-than-good.

Cronon and Lowenthal would agree with this statement, but there may be subtle nuances as to why. Cronon believes history guides progress and reflects the people we are and will become, and for this reason, it is imperative for history to be recorded and remembered. Lowenthal is more concerned with what story, what facts, are being recorded. He points to the absence of women from the accounts of history, for example, even though "grandmothers survive longer and relay most family annals."[129] However, the "male forebears are more memorialized and better remembered; women are victims of genealogical amnesia."[130] At the heart of Lowenthal's article is the need to remember history properly, comprehensively, and fairly. However, Rieff raises an interesting question: "What if the fixation of preserving the facts of history is wrong?" Rieff suggests that "Collective historical memory has led far too often to war rather than peace, and the determination to exact revenge for injuries rather than to commit to forgiveness."[131]

All of these arguments can be applied towards the Waldsee controversy. First, Cronon's perspective can be used to shed light on the meaning of the Waldsee controversy. Cronon states that "the present needs the past to explain it."[132] It is crucial to emphasize the importance of the past so that we may continue to use it as point of reference, as a way to compare our current selves and situation and thus make active changes towards the betterment of the present and the future. Following Cronon's line of argumentation, the past and present Waldsee are permanently linked. The name Waldsee contains a checkered history that has connotations of both the German Language Village's particular setting at a "lake in the woods," as well as that of a euphemism for Auschwitz. Both history and memory continue to forever intertwine these two

[129] Lowenthal, "History and Memory," 33.
[130] Lowenthal, "History and Memory," 39.
[131] Rieff, "The Cult of Memory: when history does more harm than good."
[132] Cronon, "Why the Past Matters," 13.

meanings, and a decision to keep or abandon the name creates a need for a permanent commitment to tell the ugly truth, to remember, and to devise a strategy that connects past and present in constructive and meaningful ways.

David Lowenthal focuses on the idea that people often remember certain people or events differently, which can lead to the creation of false memories or even historical amnesia. For fifty-seven years, CLV Waldsee has operated under a name that carried only idyllic connotations. While this self-understanding and identity born of history was neither false nor entirely suffering from amnesia, it was nonetheless incomplete. The Waldsee controversy provided CLV with an opportunity to address what had been left out of CLV history and needed to be integrated into both CLV's historical narrative and language immersion program. Waldsee was not the victim of "Nazi perversion of the German language," as Dan Hamilton lamented in one of his emails to Treitler. Rather, as Treitler emphasized, there never was a distinction between a "Nazi German language" and a "true German language."[133] Waldsee is part of the German language, and the Nazis only created a new layer of meaning to certain words or phrases that have become a part of German history and culture.

To retell the events of the past and to recapture the memories of others makes history come to life. However, who can judge the accuracy of the version of history historians tell? When have historians crossed the proverbial line between cold, unflinching truth and preconceived bias? The tension between history and memory begins and ends with those who choose to remember, and those who choose to forget. Those who choose to forget do not only

[133] Alex Treiter, "Conversation about Waldsee," Email to Dan Hamilton, Jon Olsen, Edwin Dehler-Seter, Leslie Morris, April 24, 2018.

put themselves at a disadvantage, but also threaten to cast the people of tomorrow into a similar darkness.

FROM NEVER FORGET TO NEVER AGAIN: CLV Waldsee in the Context of Holocaust Memorialization and Public Education

Concordia College students were stunned and silent. On a brisk fall October evening in 2018 at the annual retreat of the Concordia German Club at CLV Waldsee, most of these students were hearing for the first time the story about the Waldsee name controversy and CLV's decision to keep the name. Keeping the name, however, also led to a commitment by the deans to engage in *Erinnerungskultur,* a culture of memory and remembrance. But what kind of remembering and remembrance was best suited for a language immersion site in the northern Minnesota woods? Defining and enacting commemoration is a difficult and challenging process, and Concordia Language Villages is continuing to grapple with ways to implement and integrate recommendations from the advisory committee.

The students attending the retreat presented a seemingly unified view of Holocaust commemoration: memorials and museums were the first words that came to mind, ones that honored memory "in a respectful manner" and had a "solemn" atmosphere.[134] One student made a particular point that these places had a responsibility to get audiences interacting and reflecting on the topics at hand.[135] For another, commemoration meant "[keeping] the memory alive."[136] The expectations of a *lieu de memoire*, or site of memory, are clearly set in high regard and CLV Waldsee has now set forth the process of creating its own culture of memory.

[134] Concordia College Students in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman, October 6, 2018.
[135] Concordia College Students in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.
[136] Concordia College Students in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.

The Holocaust remains a complex topic to tackle both in public spaces, such as museums and memorials, and within the classroom setting. These environments engage a wide variety of audiences, young and old, some children of survivors or survivors themselves to students who have yet to hear about the realities of the Holocaust. Thus, when contextualizing ways in which CLV Waldsee can communicate educational opportunities to their villagers and present an explicit space for reflection, one must collect and address valuable insight from differing perspectives. It must be explicitly understood that for Waldsee and CLV to successfully incorporate curricular changes and to have an effective exhibit space, these concepts go hand-in-hand. A curriculum is only benefited by the experience of reflection and such an ideal space cannot stand on its own without being supplemented by outside resources.

First, an exploration of Holocaust memorialization begins with analyzing historical examples of Holocaust monuments and their meanings, and then transitions into compelling arguments that articulate how the values represented in memorials may or may not change over time and what implications that may have for practices of commemoration and/or memorialization at the language village. The essay will then address contemporary difficulties with memorialization, as the Waldsee controversy is unfolding at a pivotal moment, when the validity of memorials and monuments representing obsolete values are being questioned.

Since the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) serves as a forerunner in American Holocaust remembrance and education, this essay will also discuss CLV's recommendations to work with USHMM to advance their learning about the Holocaust and implement age-appropriate programming. In order to assess the opportunities and realities of Holocaust education within the setting of an iso-immersion language learning environment, it is

also important to establish the context of public education about the Holocaust in American schools. It is significant to note that Holocaust education in public schools is not only a fairly recent phenomenon but also struggles with questions of how to convey both the unique as well as the universal messages of the past – similar questions that CLV Waldsee will have to address when trying to find the right balance between its mission statement, "to inspire courageous global citizens,"[137] and the very specific decision to maintain the name Waldsee.

Memorialization

Holocaust Memorials

"You need physical reminders of historical issues, good, bad, and ugly."[138] This comment, made by Concordia Language Village Executive Director Christine Schulze, strikes to the core of Holocaust memorials. The impact of Holocaust memorials and museums is lifelong, as students recall even to this day the atmosphere and their emotional reactions to visiting the monuments.[139] There are guiding questions one encounters as historical memorials are analyzed: what are some past examples of Holocaust memorials? Who was responsible for their creation? What did they look like and what did they represent? In "Holocaust Memorials: Emergence of a Genre," Harold Marcuse explains that, despite Holocaust memorials appearing within years of WWII ending, memorialization was highly contested from the beginning and both artists as well as initiators faced significant obstacles, including restrictions in form, imagery, and representation by people in power.[140] In his analysis of memorialization, Marcuse recognizes a

[137] Concordia Language Villages, "Our Mission," accessed December 6, 2018, http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/who-we-are/our-mission.
[138] Christine Schulze in conversation with Ivy Durand and Samara Strootman, November 2, 2018.
[139] Concordia College Students in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman, October 7, 2018.
[140] Harold Marcuse, "Holocaust Memorials: The Emergence of a Genre," *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 1 (February 2010): 53-89, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23302761.

divergence in genre and elements through a chronological analysis of different European monuments from immediately post-WWII to the later 1960s. Marcuse applies a detailed understanding of art history and concept to historical events and historical commemoration.

In numerous instances, CLV has discussed a "space for reflection" as a prospective addition to the Waldsee campus. Christine Schulze mentioned that an artist had been part of the advisory committee, who would oversee the project. In an email interview with Deans Hamilton and Olsen, it was indicated that the main concerns arising from their discussions about this space are accessibility, inclusivity, respect of memory, and financial support. The deans elaborated that this space must be appropriate for all age groups to serve their entire body of villagers and should serve a variety of purposes, including:

> ...a space offering opportunity for members of our community and others to share family stories, relevant art, documents and expressions of the community that emerge from discussions of the Shoah; a space that facilitates discussion of complex questions and issues as a way of making the experience of past generations relevant to young people looking to their future; a space that showcases acts of courage, large and small, reflecting [the CLV] mission; a space that showcases the power of community, especially in confronting prejudice, challenging exclusionary behavior, and creating a more just society.[141]

However, the deans clarified that concepts for the space have not been solidified yet and that they continue to be open to proposals from the community. Marcuse's analysis serves as an approachable lesson for memorials: values, that is to say intentions, matter. When CLV determines the physical components of this space and further defines what purpose it will serve, values—which the Deans discussed as "remembrance, reflection, and conversation"[142] whereas Schulze emphasized "peaceful[ness]," remembrance, and "honor of the victims"[143]—will frame its reflection. Through the collaborative process of conceptualizing, drafting, and finally

[141] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, Email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.
[142] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, Email interview with Allison Hennes.
[143] Christine Schulze in conversation with Ivy Durand and Samara Strootman.

implementing a space, CLV will also be determining what values will have a tangible presence at their village. As Schulze later explained, this space should also be reflective of the modern day connection to the Holocaust both globally and specifically to CLV.[144] Furthermore, if this space was to take an artistic mode—such as a memorial or monument—nuances, subtle differences of meaning in Holocaust memorials are key to understanding how memorials are perceived today.

Marcuse explains that in the 1950s symbolic imagery emerged as part of Holocaust memorials. Items—such as human remains or objects from concentration camps, items directly correlating the memorial and the Holocaust—were being included for a more direct representation of Holocaust victims.[145] Yet even then there were still conflicts over what meanings should be conveyed by the memorials—what symbols were too graphic and too horrific to present in a public space?[146] Schulze echoed a similar concern by noting that "authenticity of voice" from Holocaust survivors and others, comparable to the deliberate Holocaust imagery in Holocaust memorials, is necessary to expand on the cultural impact of the event.[147]

Memorials at Concordia College

It can be concluded that memorials, be they statues, monuments, or works of art, serve an intentional purpose in commemoration, and through these acts of commemoration values are instilled into these spaces. Concordia College has its own share of memorials and dedicated buildings that entail some lessons for the language villages. Typically, Concordia monuments and buildings honor noteworthy individuals from Concordia's past. These values, then, promote

[144] Christine Schulze in conversation with Ivy Durand and Samara Strootman.
[145] Marcuse, "Holocaust Memorials: The Emergence of a Genre," 69.
[146] Marcuse, "Holocaust Memorials: The Emergence of a Genre," 73.
[147] Christine Schulze in conversation with Ivy Durand and Samara Strootman.

Cobber camaraderie and legacy as key elements in the memorials. Some of the most prominent examples one might encounter on a tour of campus are the "Chocolate Man" and the Carl B. Ylvisaker Library.

"The Chocolate Man." Photo taken by Colleen Egan.

The nicknamed "Chocolate Man" is a full-figured bronze statue in the likeness of Dr. Joseph L. Knutson who was the college's president from 1951 to 1975.[148] The statue is currently housed in a building named after the former president himself, Knutson Campus Center. During his twenty-four years as Concordia's president, many additional campus buildings were erected, including the Carl B. Ylvisaker Library as well as the Norwegian Language Village.[149] The library was originally completed in 1956 and honors the late Religion Professor Dr. Carl B. Ylvisaker, who had passed away in 1945.[150] During his nineteen years of service, Ylvisaker was a great inspiration to his students.[151] Pictured below are some immediate Ylvisaker family members posing with the relief of the late professor, added to the building in 1993, that greets every patron at the library entrance.[152] Throughout the campus, there remain many other murals, busts, plaques, and buildings that honor influential Concordia figures and their contributions to the college.

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[148] Concordia College Archives, "Concordia Presidents," accessed November 29, 2018, received from http://concordiacollegearchives.weebly.com/concordia-presidents.html.
[149] Concordia College Archives, "Concordia Presidents."
[150] Concordia College, "About the Library," accessed November 29, 2018, https://www.concordiacollege.edu/academics/library/about-the-library/.
[151] Concordia College, "About the Library."
[152] "Carl B. Ylvisaker Library, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota," Carl B. Ylvisaker Library (P09307E), 1993, Buildings Photograph Collection, Concordia College Archives.

Ylvisaker family stands in front of a relief in Carl B. Ylvisaker's likeness at the entrance of the Carl B. Library.

However, similar to Marcuse's analysis of representation in historical Holocaust memorials, discussions on representation in Concordia's campus art arose in the student newspaper this past academic year. Concordia student Elaine Laliberte commented on the lack of female representation in campus art and how this negatively impacts students.[153] "Are the female students supposed to absorb an atmosphere of progress when their own campus doesn't flaunt its countless intelligent female Cobbers?," Laliberte provocatively asked.[154] After discussing one particular art piece that depicts an abstract female form, Laliberte reminded readers that the ratio of dedicated buildings, sculptures, and art pieces are predominantly male, while the majority of the secretarial positions on campus were filled by women.[155] She went on to say that "these statistics are not a coincidence and continue to inform our youth about their position in the world," drawing the conclusion that the physical presence of male-dominated art informs Cobbers just as much.[156] While Laliberte discussed a very different subject matter, it is abundantly clear that representation, value, and intention of memorials and art are fundamental aspects in any memorial's reception and an audience's understanding of the institution behind an installment.

[153] Elaine Laliberte, "Opinion: Female representation missing," *Concordian* (Moorhead, MN), September 20, 2018.
[154] Laliberte, "Opinion: Female representation missing."
[155] Laliberte, "Opinion: Female representation missing."
[156] Laliberte, "Opinion: Female representation missing."

Memorials at Concordia Language Village Waldsee

On the campground, the Concordia Language Village Waldsee already features monument or memorial examples, including the World of Friendship Plaza cobblestones[157] and Haus Katja. During the German Club retreat at Waldsee, walking around the plaza during a brisk fall morning led one to the crunching of leaves underfoot, while a glance downward showed names of various individuals, families, and organizations that had purchased a cobblestone "dedicated to peace and understanding among young people." A particular cobblestone caught the eye: Concordia College Alumni. According to the advertisement, these cobblestones symbolized key values of CLV and by supporting their mission, a donor could receive their name etched into a brick placed in the heart of Waldsee.

Off the beaten path lies another memorial: *Haus Katja*. The log cabin was built *in memoriam* for a Concordia College senior, Kathy Rutherford, who passed away on February 25, 1980.[158] Rutherford's life was claimed by a preexisting heart defect, but she was defined by her love for the recreational outdoors, German club, and CLV, where she served as a counselor for several summers.[159]

"Haus Katja." Photo taken by Colleen Egan.

Rutherford's friends established a fundraiser where people could pay for the log cabin, named after Rutherford's Waldsee name, that would be built on the beloved campground, "dedicated in

[157] See Appendix E: World of Friendship Plaza: Cobblestone Pamphlet for images.
[158] "Kathy Rutherford memorial set for Sunday," *Concordian* (Moorhead, MN), April 25, 1980.
[159] "Heart problem claims senior Kathy Rutherford," *Concordian* (Moorhead, MN), March 7, 1980.

Kathy's honor."[160] Mary Ann Waalen, a friend of Rutherford, emphasized Rutherford's dedication to her German heritage, and her memories at CLV Waldsee informed the model and location of the memorial.[161] Waalen went on to explain that "students now have a chance to immortalize, through the memorial fund, something Kathy believed in and help others become aware of the things she so greatly treasured."[162]

When visited in October 2018, *Haus Katja* was frosty but not forgotten. A sign pointing towards the memorial was found alongside the road and Egan, Strootman, and another Concordia College student took an early morning walk out to visit the cabin. In the off-season, the log cabin sat quietly, but during sessions at CLV Waldsee it comes alive with activity. Dean Olsen described that the cabin serves a variety of programmatic uses including as a classroom as well as hosting different activities such as *Backofen,* where villagers bake outdoors. Often the cabin is used alongside the nearby *Haus Sonnenaufgang*, a "genuine German immigrant cabin," dating back to the 1850s, that is utilized to discuss the immigration stories of German-speaking Europeans to the United States.[163]

These memorials exhibit values that CLV wishes to preserve and house on their site. With the cobblestones, they are reflecting on the many donors and supporters of their mission to produce "courageous global citizens."[164] *Haus Katja* provides a dual purpose. On the one hand, it memorializes a young Concordia College student gone too soon and immortalizes her love for her heritage, the story of German immigration, and her fond memories spent at CLV learning the

[160] "Kathy Rutherford memorial set for Sunday," *Concordian.*
[161] "Kathy Rutherford memorial set for Sunday," *Concordian.*
[162] "Kathy Rutherford memorial set for Sunday," *Concordian.*
[163] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, email message to Colleen Egan, December 10, 2018.
[164] Concordia Language Villages, "Our Mission."

language. On the other hand, CLV has dedicated space to their staff, while commemorating the commitment the young counselor had to teaching and being part of their program.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Over the past few months CLV Deans have established a working relationship with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. When interviewed for the *Star Tribune*, Dean Hamilton talked about an in-progress collaboration with the USHMM for teaching resources and guidance on incorporating Holocaust education into the Waldsee curriculum.[165] In a later interview conducted by the authors, the deans mentioned that CLV was currently working with ten different professionals from the museum itself.[166] Schulze elaborated further that Dr. Carrie Olson from Denver, who joined the USHMM Teacher Fellow Program in 2006 and has since been training teachers and professors, has offered teaching resources and assistance for CLV staff.[167] The USHMM is on the frontlines of Holocaust education in the country, dedicated to both spreading awareness and knowledge as well as honoring and remembering the victims of the Holocaust and will undoubtedly help shape Holocaust commemoration and education at CLV.

Schulze couldn't have underlined CLV's commitment to commemoration and education more clearly: "Now we own it, now we hold it, now we have a story we ourselves are a part of and need to keep telling."[168] The deans believe USHMM features many elements that CLV could integrate into their program, such as teaching resources, "particularly in ways appropriate to the

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[165] Cynthia Dickison, "Concordia Language Villages confronts an ugly truth head-on as a step toward healing," *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), Oct. 21, 2018, http://www.startribune.com/concordia-language-villages-confronts-an-ugly-truth-head-on-as-a-step-toward-healing/498046081/.

[166] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, Email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.

[167] Christine Schulze in conversation with Ivy Durand and Samara Strootman.

[168] Christine Schulze in conversation with Ivy Durand and Samara Strootman.

different age groups we serve," but also exhibit features like virtual tours of the museum.[169] CLV Waldsee will eventually house a complete duplicate of the "Waldsee 1944" postcards exhibit permanently at the village.[170] While USHMM serves as a leader in the American narrative of the Holocaust and certainly one CLV will be leaning on as their understanding of their duty grows, the conception of the USHMM grew out of political and social values that solidified the need for a memorial museum in its day. Understanding this context will help CLV and the audience evaluate how the USHMM has shaped understanding of the Holocaust in the United States today.

In "America's Holocaust: Memory and Politics of Identity," James E. Young introduced the argument that Holocaust memorials placed throughout the United States are anything but physical, static stills of ideals and motivations, but that their meaning changes over time. Young also argued that the Americanization of the Holocaust has created a universalization of values represented in monuments that could negatively impact audience engagement with history and experience with the monument itself. His thesis is supported by his discussion of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). Young analyzed the layout and formation of the long-standing exhibits as the informers of history – each component sewing together a patchwork of interpretation, curated by museum professionals, to be experienced but ultimately analyzed by the audience member. In this analysis, one can conclude that curators and other powerful authorities have some of the biggest responsibilities and impact on memorialization and education.

[169] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, Email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.
[170] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, Email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.

However, the intention and conceptualization of USHMM needs to be placed in its proper historical context; analyzing its exhibits simply isn't enough to fully understand its purpose. One needs to explore the contemporary political environment and social change that affected its conceptualization. What was the original purpose of the USHMM and is that purpose still the same today? In "The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: The Creation of a 'Living Memorial,'" Amy Sodaro examines the museum as a new form of commemoration that emphasizes new, elaborate ways to educate audiences while maintaining an authentic memorialization of the Holocaust.[171] The author's approach affirms this thesis by examining previous attempts at Holocaust memorialization. She then goes on to discuss the conception of the USHMM, beginning with the selection of committee members which led to complications over questions of representation and identity on the committee. She further explains the scope of the committee that evaluates the mission of the museum, while trying to counteract the tensions between survivors and professionals. Finally, Sodaro addresses the journey of seeking a balance between sacredness and awareness that offers commemoration for those who were there and education for those who were not. Sodaro also explains the purpose the USHMM serves both as a political tool and as a public educational tool that memorializes one of the greatest atrocities in global history. She emphasizes the Americanization of the Holocaust through its location and construction (including exhibit layout), objectivity, and functions of the USHMM, noting the paradox that exists within the concept of a memorial museum.

[171] Amy Sodaro, "The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: The Creation of a "Living Memorial"," in *Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial Museums and the Politics of Past Violence* (New Brunswick, Camden, Newark, New Jersey; London: Rutgers University Press, 2018), 30-57, retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1v2xskk.6.

Difficulties with Memorialization

The reception of memorials is often mixed, and can lead to intense public debate and soul-searching about values, identity, history, and memory. The name Waldsee proves to be no exception. During a time of growing awareness and support for deconstructing bigotry, resisting prejudice, and removing idolized yet outdated historical ideologies, recent nationwide conversations have also influenced the reception of the name Waldsee and shaped discussions on how to move forward. Hamilton admits that prominent examples of other organizations and institutions addressing concerns about certain memorialized features have framed the Waldsee discussions.[172] The deans mentioned that the recent conversations at Yale University about their Calhoun Hall and the more local conversations in Minnesota about Lake Calhoun surfaced during discussions about Waldsee; they also referenced discussions about "the historical issues of slavery affecting Georgetown University" and the debate over Confederate statues "all through the southern US."[173] These contemporary events definitively shaped how CLV progressed in defining what "commemoration" means to the organization and its program. These dilemmas shed light on the way values and the interpretation of them are being re-evaluated when it comes to their representation in memorials.

The recent discussions of Confederate imagery, sparked by the 2017 Charlottesville protests, have many places reconsidering the displays of Confederate statues. As part of a forum on the 'Undead Past" in *Foreign Affairs*, Annette Gordon-Reed articulates how the legacy of white supremacy, intrinsically tied to black slavery and ignorance of Confederate ideology, perpetuates the contemporary problems African Americans face daily and that these Confederate

[172] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, Email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.
[173] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, Email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.

statues only indicate a continuation of that issue.[174] Concerning the values of these states, Gordon-Reed comments that the original Confederate cause—the continuation of white supremacy through black enslavement—did not amount to a "mighty" rebellion. This is a false understanding of the Confederacy and shows ignorance of history that is still immortalized by the presence of these statues. But the American public is beginning to question the monuments and memorials that commemorate famous Confederate figures in the South, affecting even colleges. One example is the University of North Carolina's Confederate soldier statue, "Silent Sam," that came tumbling down amidst protests by students, faculty, and community members, voicing opposition to the statue and the delay by the University in removing the monument after many requests to do so. The sense of responsibility among Americans is marked by the call to action and many are demanding institutions to acknowledge these faulty idols and remove them. [175] While some may argue this sensitivity is polarizing, nevertheless it must be recognized, considering the major attitude shift that has happened within the last few years. It also shows that people have the power and authority in approving or disapproving representation of values in memorials.

Another example is the previously mentioned Calhoun Hall at Yale University that sparked a similar controversy as the Confederate statues. In response to student protests and campus wide discussions over the meaning of John Calhoun in history and memory, Yale University commissioned a committee to draw up guidelines for renaming the building. These

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[174] Annette Gordon-Reed, "America's Original Sin: Slavery and the Legacy of White Supremacy," *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 1 (2018): 2-7, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/issues/2018/97/1.

[175] "North Carolina refused to act on Confederate statues. So protesters did," *The Washington Post,* last modified August 24, 2018, accessed September 6, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/north-carolina-refused-to-act-on-confederate-statues-so-protesters-did/2018/08/24/2c63179c-a7b2-11e8-97ce-cc9042272f07_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.025e719868a0&wpisrc=nl_opinions&wpmm=1.

Principles on Renaming included four criteria. The first criterion would evaluate the values and beliefs held by the namesake in comparison to Yale's mission. Next, the second criterion determines if these values of the namesake were actively supported and sought, or rather were products of the namesake's societal heritage. The third criterion analyzes why Yale had decided on the namesake of the building in the first place, evaluating prior justification and measuring it against current standards of Yale. The final principle evaluates if the building provides connection to the community of students and faculty on campus.[176] Reporter Rebecca Onion comments that the committee spoke of the renaming business on a case-by-case basis that would hopefully be satisfied through careful and thorough discussion as each case arises.

A Yale University student, Dasia Moore, presented her own story on the matter in her article, "When Does Renaming a Building Make Sense?" Moore found Calhoun Hall a constant in her conversations.[177] In her sophomore year and after the Charleston shooting in 2015, Moore realized, "It was standing on Calhoun's namesake street after the shooting, crying with family and strangers, that convinced me that what and whom we choose to memorialize from the past also serve as powerful symbols of the present."[178] Moore eventually became the undergraduate representative on the committee her junior year and was deeply involved in the conversations of preservation, the university's values, and historical symbolism. Moore emphasized differing student perspectives among her peers, from ones who shamed the university's "obsession with its own history" to the homes many found in their halls "after fighting that battle in the classroom

[176] Rebecca Onion, "When to Rename a Building and Why," *Slate*, last modified December 2, 2016, accessed September 6, 2018, http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/history/2016/12/yale_adopts_a_new_approach_to_deciding_whether_to_rename_calhoun_college.html.
[177] Dasia Moore, "When Does Renaming a Building Make Sense?" *The Nation*, February 17, 2017, https://www.thenation.com/article/when-does-renaming-a-building-make-sense/.
[178] Moore, "When Does Renaming a Building Make Sense?"

and the rest of the world."[179] However, Moore mentioned that many students of color referenced the power of imagery, where people in authority "[announced] priorities and demarcate the boundaries of inclusive and exclusive spaces."[180] Moore explained that these challenging and unpleasant dialogues are necessary for growth. Yale University is no exception in being one of the many institutions investigating its own history, but Moore firmly believes that solutions do exist.[181]

Yale University did eventually change the name of Calhoun Hall. In February 2017, *Yale News* reported that President Peter Salovey announced the new name for the building as Grace Hopper College.[182] The name change honors Dr. Hopper, "an exemplar of achievement in her field and service to her country" who received a master's degree in 1930 and a Ph.D. in mathematics in 1934.[183] She taught until World War II, when she joined the U.S. Navy and "used her mathematical knowledge to fight fascism."[184] She retired as a rear admiral from the Navy at the age of 79.[185] However, in between her naval services, Dr. Hopper was a leading software developer and eventually assisted in developing multiple computer language programs.[186] The name change was a difficult task. The president had originally announced the name would remain unchanged, but through the committee found himself reconsidering his decision as most committee members opted for the building to be named after Dr. Hopper. Salovey reiterated, "In making this change, we must be vigilant not to erase the past," indicating while the name has

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[179] Moore, "When Does Renaming a Building Make Sense?"
[180] Moore, "When Does Renaming a Building Make Sense?"
[181] Moore, "When Does Renaming a Building Make Sense?"
[182] Yale University, "Yale changes Calhoun College's name to honor Grace Murray Hopper," *Yale News*, last modified February 11, 2017, https://news.yale.edu/2017/02/11/yale-change-calhoun-college-s-name-honor-grace-murray-hopper-0.
[183] Yale University, "Yale changes Calhoun College's name."
[184] Yale University, "Yale changes Calhoun College's name."
[185] Yale University, "Yale changes Calhoun College's name."
[186] Yale University, "Yale changes Calhoun College's name."

indeed changed, the history of Calhoun Hall has not been removed and will continue to be remembered as a part of Yale University's history.[187]

As indicated in the *Star Tribune* article, Dean Hamilton also mentioned that CLV Waldsee is "[re-evaluating] building names."[188] When the authors inquired further on this topic, Hamilton explained that cabin counselors choose their own cabin's name, and these choices often reflect their home countries, heritage, previous study abroad experiences, or places of interest.[189] These names must be handled delicately and respect sensitivities around certain names, but this does not mean prohibiting *any* German names. Hamilton explained, "You can imagine that if we stopped using any German city name associated with this period in German history we may run into a problem. Berlin? Nuremberg?"[190] According to the dean, these names represent learning opportunities for villagers to explore the history of Germany.[191] There are new options being explored, however, and Hamilton commented that since the main CLV Waldsee buildings are German words, such as the train station or the *Gasthof*, perhaps this allows for the cabins to be named after village elements rather than German cities and towns - but these options must be first reviewed with CLV staff.[192]

The thorough process in which Yale University addressed problems of value and identity with Calhoun Hall is a clear indication that the power dynamic between members of the community and authoritative power does not restrict critical reevaluation. As explored throughout this paper, the name Waldsee contains interconnected identities that do not easily

[187] Yale University, "Yale changes Calhoun College's name."
[188] Dickison, "Concordia Language Villages confronts an ugly truth head-on as a step toward healing."
[189] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.
[190] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.
[191] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.
[192] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.

piece apart. Onion's article further explores how identity, including connections to namesakes like Calhoun, often pose some of the biggest challenges for addressing these problematic symbols. Gordon-Reed's argument ultimately provides contextualization of these contemporary dilemmas America is facing, and how commemoration of ideals, figures, and historical events no longer representative of the current political climate can be refuted by the American public. Gordon-Reed's essay addresses the values or intentions of the memorials as fluid rather than unchangeable as awareness grows. Furthermore, the concepts of intention and interpretation are at the core of each argument presented here, which clearly indicates that this conversation about memorialization must go hand-in-hand with a clear vision of intent for the memorial to be relevant into the future.

Commemoration Beyond Face Value

As the world grows, memorials, statues, monuments, and even museums face the daunting challenge of remaining relevant and keeping their audiences engaged, while ensuring that the correct contextualization and commemoration of the materials aligns with their values and code of ethics as an institution. Intentions behind commemorating certain figures, historical events, or even symbolic imagery are communicated nonverbally through an organization's commitment to commemorate. The relationship between a memorial and audience can become contested; the dangers of an incomprehensive approach and ultimate misrepresentation of history threaten to exclude the nuanced voices of the past and further alienate modern audiences from historical events. Audiences today, as seen with Calhoun Hall (now Grace Hopper College) at Yale University or the continued protests against Confederate statues across the United States, are emotionally aware, socially engaged, and ready to challenge the authority these monuments

have over spaces, when evaluated as outdated and bigoted. The lingering fear for Holocaust commemoration is that stressing universality could overshadow the severity and specifics of the genocide. On the other hand, emphasis on uniqueness could undermine the human connections of non-Jewish audiences to Holocaust history.

For CLV, collaboration with heritage organizations is a prominent component of their future plans. As discussed, USHMM is an American leader in Holocaust commemoration and education that will provide CLV with educational resources to incorporate into their language programs. Global institutions are also being included as CLV has reached out to archivists from Waldsee and Bad Waldsee in Germany, the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, the German Embassy, and German Foreign Office.[193] These various narratives will help form an expansive array of Holocaust history and understanding that will benefit CLV Waldsee staff and villagers alike.

Another collaboration is the "Waldsee 1944" postcard exhibit that was on loan from the Hebrew Union College and hosted by CLV during the summer of 2018. The exhibit was on display for campers, staff, and visitors throughout the summer, as well as to the public during the camp's International Day celebrations. During one of the public forums CLV held on the controversy, Gary Rozman, director of the Beltrami County Historical Society and museum, stepped forth and offered the organization's space as another temporary stop for the exhibit.[194] Rozman explained in an interview with the authors that while the historical society reflects primarily local Beltrami County history, the organization "tells stories of the past"— with an emphasis on *human* stories— but explores history "beyond borders" because it is a disservice to

[193] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, Email interview with Allison Hennes, November 2018.
[194] Gary Rozman in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman, October 6, 2018.

ignore the impact of global events on people around the world.[195] This concept aligns with CLV's mission of encouraging global citizens through their language programs. Rozman recognizes that his diverse New York upbringing has deeply impacted his global view of history; he is a firm believer, in his own words, that exposure to differing cultures, heritages, or lifestyles will help alleviate bigotry in the world.[196] But commemoration, such as with the Holocaust, is only "the first step" and cannot be undertaken without a significant commitment to the idea nor by simply acknowledging the tragedy but must be "grappled with."[197] There is no easy solution to the challenges individuals and organizations face when handling commemoration, but nevertheless there is a "responsibility to keep asking questions" and critically engage with history and its impact.[198]

When confronted with concerns by the authors regarding commemoration fading from a contemporary consciousness, Rozman remarked that "getting together and bringing it to the forefront of your mind—that's how you prevent it from fading into the background."[199] For Rozman, commemoration is a conscious, deliberate choice to critically engage with history and open up learning opportunities to evaluate what society has learned from the past.[200] His experience with presenting Holocaust history at a local middle school provides interdisciplinary examples of how to approach the topic with younger age groups, whether it be contextualizing statistics based on the Minnesota population, reading poems that are accessible to students and

[195] Gary Rozman in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.
[196] Gary Rozman in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.
[197] Gary Rozman in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.
[198] Gary Rozman in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.
[199] Gary Rozman in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.
[200] Gary Rozman in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.

lead to thoughtful discussion by drawing parallels to current events, or history lessons in a social studies class.[201]

These conversations indicate that educational experiences thrive with the aid of reflective spaces and that it is morally imperative for commemoration to be beyond face value. An interdisciplinary approach to Holocaust commemoration seems best—one that gives room for developing discussions through educational experiences and one that honors the victims by engaging with the challenges head-on. Taking the space and time to reflect displays dedication to both memory and history. The immersive learning experience at CLV Waldsee gives villagers and staff the opportunity to address and learn about the Holocaust in a direct but organic and insightful way that can draw from traditional classroom teaching but is not limited to it.

Public Education

Traditional Classroom Teaching of the Holocaust

Holocaust education as a requirement in American public schools is a fairly recent phenomenon. In 1990 Illinois became the first state to require teaching of the Holocaust in public middle and high schools.[202] As of March 2018, Kentucky became the 9th and most recent state to require middle and high school education on the Holocaust.[203] While only nine out of fifty states mandate education of the Holocaust in middle and high schools, they all have varying

[201] Gary Rozman in conversation with Ivy Durand, Colleen Egan, Allison Hennes, and Samara Strootman.
[202] "Illinois Holocaust And Genocide Education Mandate," Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center, 2018 https://www.ilholocaustmuseum.org/pages/for-educators/illinois-holocaust-genocide-mandate/.
[203] JTA, "Catholic Educator Makes Holocaust Studies Mandatory in Kentucky Schools," *The Jerusalem Post*, March 27, 2018, accessed December 9, 2018, https://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Catholic-educator-makes-Holocaust-Studies-mandatory-in-Kentucky-schools-547237.

requirements that each state decides and implements independently. Currently, Minnesota is not one of the nine states with mandatory Holocaust education requirements.[204]

Tthe subject of the Holocaust in higher education would not be addressed until the late 1950s and early 1960s. The context that facilitated conversations about this topic was a confluence of events and developments in the United States, Germany, and Israel. In "Breaking the Silence: The Beginning of Holocaust Education in America," Marcia Sachs Littell discusses the role of Protestant educators in beginning Holocaust education and explains that four key events started the process: a holocaust seminar at Emory University, the Tutzing conference, the capture of Adolf Eichmann, and the release of two Holocaust books.[205] The first seminar on the Holocaust was taught at Emory University in 1958 by Professor Franklin Littell, and a year later, an international conference in Tutzing, Germany, provided the first opportunity for American and European scholars to discuss how to bring the Holocaust into American academic and church debates. The capture of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina and the ensuing trial in Israel for crimes against the Jewish people lent even greater publicity to the Holocaust and spurred discussions about educational needs. The publication of Elie Wiesel's *Night* in 1956 provided a powerful eyewitness testimony to the horror and dehumanization of Jews at the hands of the Nazis, while Raul Hilberg's masterful study *The Destruction of the European Jews* laid the scholarly foundation for future study and research about the Holocaust.

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[204] Twenty states are currently considering to introduce legislation requiring Holocaust education. "Lawmakers from 20 states pledge to mandate Holocaust education," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, April 24, 2017. https://www.jta.org/2017/04/24/united-states/lawmakers-from-20-states-pledge-to-mandate-holocaust-education. Accessed December 13. 2018.

[205] Marcia Sachs Littell, "Breaking the Silence: The Beginning of Holocaust Education in America," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 49, no. 1 (2014): 125-133.

While scholarship on the Holocaust has grown exponentially since, especially in the United States—a phenomenon referred to as the Americanization of the Holocaust or what Peter Novick provocatively called an unhealthy preoccupation[206]--the American public knows very little and gets most of its information from movies rather than books or scholarly sources. In other words, Holocaust awareness in America does not necessarily translate into knowledge about the Holocaust. Stefanie Rauch examines the general public's knowledge and perception of the Holocaust through people's interpretations of Holocaust films.[207] Most Americans' knowledge of the Holocaust comes from movies like *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas*, *Schindler's List,* and *Defiance.* Participants in her study had relatively little Holocaust knowledge other than what was portrayed in the films and seemed to believe that what they were seeing was generally factual, even though it was often a dramatic reinterpretation or even fictionalization of real events. This is true of most of the general public; most people do not have an in-depth knowledge of the Holocaust and what they do know is largely acquired from popular Holocaust movies produced in the 1990s and 2000s. Additionally, even formal schooling often utilizes movies, novels, and other media about the Holocaust in teaching. This all adds up to many Americans having limited and selective knowledge about the Holocaust.

The general public is also influenced by what the government and trusted institutions portray about the Holocaust. It has already been discussed how the US government's support of the Cold War narrative influenced Holocaust awareness. However, Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Marcel Stoetzler, in "Holocaust Memory in the Twenty-First Century: Between National Reshaping and Globalisation," argue that "staged" forms of commemoration by governments

[206] Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
[207] Stefanie Rauch, "Understanding the Holocaust Through Film: Audience Reception between Preconceptions and Media Effects," *History and Memory* 30, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2018): 151-188.

also influence Holocaust memory.[208] American commemoration of the Holocaust tends to be superficial and focused on a narrative that governments propose, not actual Holocaust memory; this superficial commemoration, including "remembrance days" or other holidays, leads to the creation of superficial Holocaust memory. Additionally, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum tends to enshrine the universality of the Holocaust in Americans' memory and highlight American values rather commemoration.[209] As a representation of the evil perpetrated during the Holocaust, the museum is often reduced to a symbol of the "pure evil" of the Holocaust rather than a real historical event. Visitors are left with an idea of what evil looks and feels like rather than true knowledge about the Holocaust.

Nevertheless, the responses to these memorializations, dramaticized or not, are impactful on a young person's developing understanding of the Holocaust and cannot be disregarded. In "Toward a Philosophy of Holocaust Education," Alexander Karn stresses how important it is to show students that their ideas and values are valid, but also recognize that these ideas and values have direct consequences.[210] Karn argues that "we will not gain traction with our students if we persist in seeing their value systems as incompletely articulated or improperly informed."[211] Educating about the Holocaust without imposing an agenda teaches students to see the ramifications of their choices through the example of how the average German citizen of the Nazi era chose to respond to the events of the Holocaust. Karn explains that "teaching the Holocaust effectively means freeing students to ask questions about historical epistemology,"

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[208] Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Marcel Stoetzler, "Holocaust Memory in the 21st Century: Between National Reshaping and Globalization," *European Review of History* 8, no. 1 (February 2011): 69-78.
[209] Young, "America's Holocaust: Memory and the Politics of Identity," 68-82.
[210] Alexander Karn, "Toward a Philosophy of Holocaust Education: Teaching Values without Imposing Agendas," *The History Teacher* 45, no. 2 (2012): 221-240.
[211] Karn, "Toward a Philosophy of Holocaust Education," 235.

meaning students can investigate the historical shifts in awareness and understanding of the Holocaust, "as well as questions which speak directly to challenges of the current moment," where students may reflect on contemporary connections to Holocaust history.[212]

Although this article is based on a more traditional classroom setting, the discussions and outcomes are still useful in CLV's context. Critical analysis and open-mindedness in Holocaust education seem to benefit students greatly. Passive lecturing on the Holocaust isn't as impactful. Active learning and engaging with Holocaust education can only benefit students and leave an impact on their understanding of the complexity of these historical events. Looking at the benefits that go with good teaching of the Holocaust, one must start to create a lesson plan that instills critical thinking and analysis of the event.

Waldsee Curricula

The interview with Christine Schulze revealed a closer look into CLV's educational structure.[213] Schulze is in charge of the "guiding principles" that encompass all Concordia Language Villages, but the deans are in charge of their own village's specific curriculum. In a final report from 1995 by Mary A. Throndd, the deans asked that program-wide expectations and guidelines be implemented. "Thus, the Curriculum Guidelines Committee [was] formed...to articulate a philosophy/rationale as well as guidelines and examples for scope and sequences."[214] Guidelines help keep lessons and activities on track while also keeping up with the camp's mission. When asked about supplemental resources in their curriculum, Schulze said they use

[212] Karn, "Toward a Philosophy of Holocaust Education," 235.
[213] Christine Schulze in conversation with Ivy Durand and Samara Strootman.
[214] "Final Report 1995," 1995, Concordia Language Villages, Record 35; Administration & Development, 1967-2009, Series 2; Final Reports & Evaluations, 1973-2005, Subseries 3; 1995, File Folder 22, Concordia College Archives.

"authentic texts and videos."[215] The texts can be found in their village's personal libraries. Since Schulze isn't directly in charge of each village's curriculum, the deans of CLV Waldsee were contacted to further elaborate on current education standards and curriculum.

Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen explained in their emailed responses to the authors that "the village curriculum, intended for all learning levels, was developed by a leadership team of staff members."[216] For activities and assignments, teachers must go to the deans and get their ideas approved before implementing them in the village program. In regards to Holocaust education, the deans explained that they wanted to make it "unavoidable for those who choose to learn with us."[217] CLV will continue to focus on language learning. Yet, to address the Holocaust and the connection of the Waldsee name, they were considering adding more electives at the college-credit level, inviting guest speakers, making a memorial site, and "programming elements beyond the HS and college credit courses."[218]

Ways to Implement Teaching about the Holocaust

In "Avoiding the Complex History, Simple Answer Syndrome," David Lindquist has laid out a great example for a Holocaust lesson plan in a traditional classroom setting.[219] Historical context is key to effectively teaching the Holocaust. Students will never understand how the Holocaust happened if they don't understand the context that led to the Holocaust. The article then examines different ways to explain the historical complexity. Explaining complexity and make it understandable is no small undertaking, however. Lindquist suggests six steps, based on

[215]Christine Schulze in conversation with the authors, November 2, 2018.
[216] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, email message to Allison Hennes, November 30, 2018..
[217] Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen, email message to Allison Hennes.
[218] Dan Hamilton, email message to Allison Hennes.
[219] David Lindquist, "Avoiding the Complex History, Simple Answer Syndrome: A Lesson Plan for Providing Depth and Analysis in the High School History Classroom," *The History Teacher* 45, no. 3 (2012).

material from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. He explains that "the lesson plan is designed to allow students to move beyond the state of being 'passive receivers of knowledge' by a) constructing critical questions and b) examining data that will allow them to consider those questions while developing an appreciation for the complexity that is central to many historical situations."[220]

A lesson plan like that is centered around questions that get students to look deeper into the circumstances of life under Nazi control, such as "why didn't [the Jewish people] leave?" The first step would introduce students "to factual content regarding Jewish emigration from Germany."[221] Step two would get the students to ask "what would be involved in emigrating from Germany?" or "what would be involved in immigrating to another country?"[222] Once they start discussing these themes, step three would give them the resources that show exactly how difficult and almost impossible it really was for German Jews to leave. Step four would mainly bring back the question on why the Jews didn't leave Germany during the nineteen thirties. Step five veers more into a traditional classroom setting. Students are supposed to start writing about what they've learned, specifically in reversing the original question "why didn't they leave." In this exercise, the "contrapositive question serves to complicate students' thinking about this event and the historical process in general."[223] The final step leads to a concluding discussion with the class on what they've learned. Essentially, the steps Lindquist lays out make it very easy to insert the desired focus—in this instance, why the Jewish people didn't leave Germany before

[220] Lindquist, "Avoiding the Complex History," 411-412.
[221] Lindquist, "Avoiding the Complex History," 412.
[222] Lindquist, "Avoiding the Complex History," 412.
[223] Lindquist, "Avoiding the Complex History," 414.

and during the war. Furthermore, it helps lay out how to work up to an analytical and thoughtful discussion with students.

While this lesson plan is designed for a traditional classroom, it is still filled with great ideas for educating students on the Holocaust that can be useful for a nontraditional educational setting like Waldsee. Possibly, villagers could do a presentation in German on a specific theme of the Holocaust. The project, in theme with their camp setting, would have an end product that shows critical thinking and analysis of the Holocaust and the repercussions of this historic event on German as well as global society. Lindquist's article describes one specific lesson plan, but it could help start the discussion on how to go about teaching this heavy topic in a summer camp setting.

Public education on the Holocaust had a very slow start; middle and high schools only started teaching it in the 1990s. Yet, to teach it well, one must have active and engaged lessons. CLV Waldsee is a unique place that focuses on playful learning and language immersion. Learning is done by doing. As part of their list of recommendations the deans have embraced the idea of the empty postcard stand that will display the sign "Warum wir keine Postkarten verkaufen" (why we don't sell postcards). This simple gesture will serve as a permanent reminder of the 1944 Waldsee and its postcard deception. Hence, the empty postcard stand becomes both a memorial to those who fell victim to the cruel Waldsee deception, and a teaching device to tell the story about a chapter of Hungarian Holocaust history and memory.

While it is still unclear how CLV Waldsee will address both the history and memory of the Waldsee name in its programming, the deans are committed to "courageously learn from

history."[224] In fact, in their September communiqué—that lists many of the recommendations first introduced by members of the advisory committee—the deans emphatically state that "by abandoning the Waldsee name we would clearly disassociate ourselves from this horrible story." Moreover, "we would also be abandoning an opportunity for remembrance."[225] Hence, by keeping the Waldsee name, CLV Waldsee has assumed responsibility to teach about the good, the bad, and the ugly associated with it—Waldsee and Auschwitz are now forever intertwined and to separate the two would amount to moral abdication of a commitment to remember and commemorate. This takes the Waldsee name controversy beyond the commemorative and educational obligations of the USHMM because Waldsee is not just a mere site to educate and remember. Rather, Waldsee has become a lieu de memoire, a site that directly connects to the memory scape of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. And that will have lasting implications for the programming at CLV Waldsee, since it has assumed responsibility to teach both, German *Erinnerungskultur* and CLV Waldsee's culture of memory.

[224] Dan Hamilton, "Waldsee: Courageously Learning from History," *German Life Magazine* (Nov/Dec 2018), http://germanlife.com/2018/10/waldsee-courageously-learning-from-history/ and also posted on CLV website: http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/news-and-events/post/waldsee-courageously-learning-from-history#.XBM6SS2fl0s

[225] "A Special Message to the Concordia Language Villages Community," http://www.concordialanguagevillages.org/news-and-events/post/waldsee-name-discussion-update#.XBM6_i2fl0s also included in an email message from Dan Hamilton to the members of the Advisory Committee, September 25, 2018.

AFTERWORD

This paper attempts to place the founding of CLV Waldsee, the broadening of its mission and iso-immersion language learning, and the recent controversy over the Waldsee name within the larger historical context past and present. The authors of this paper recognize that an exploration of the controversy over the Waldsee name happens neither in isolation from the macrocosm of regional, national and global history, nor is it disconnected from the microcosm of personal stories and worldviews of people who have been deeply invested in the Waldsee story past and present. The connection between history and memory, after all, happens on a profoundly personal level and is sometimes most effectively captured by a photograph that says more than a thousand words—whether it is the 1931 image of Alex Treitler's infant father and teenage aunt, who proudly displays a Star of David necklace in a Germany on the eve of the Nazi take-over; or the photograph of a joyous Dan Hamilton, posing with his young family in front of a breached Berlin Wall in 1989. Both are powerful images of family that establish an emotive connection between history and memory.

Aside from exploring perspectives ranging from the personal to the global, this paper also examines the tension between history and memory through memorialization and commemoration. In fact, memorials build bridges for human connections to the past, illustrating significant cultural values that are immortalized in artwork and represent a highlighted focus in a globalized memory. The process of Holocaust commemoration is initiated by responses to the aftermath of the historical tragedy where "some recall war, others resistance, and still others mass murder."[226] These memorials then become deeply integrated into the very spaces they touch

[226] Young, "America's Holocaust: Memory and Politics of Identity," 68.

and they embody nationalistic identities. The theoretical patchwork that weaves together the symbolic and artistic choices taken when conceptualizing memorials becomes a tangible experience that imparts historical significance to an audience. By implementing these spaces into public education curricula and classrooms, traditional or otherwise, memorialization lends itself to be a captivating form of historical evidence. The global contextualization, fitting for CLV's pursuit of globally engaged citizens, is necessary, for these acts of commemoration allow their audience to reference them both in the circumstances of their own timely creation but also reflect their changing historical reception from past to present.

CLV Waldsee's vision was conceived and first implemented at a crucial moment in German and world history. 1961 was defined by both the realities of the Cold War and the legacies of the Second World War: whereas one of the stark reminders of a bipolar world and a divided Germany came with the building of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, it was the Eichmann Trial, starting in April 1961, that revealed the ghosts of Germany's Nazi past. The very same year that the world watched in disbelief as East Germany constructed a wall to separate Germans from each other, television coverage of the Eichmann trial also brought to light the Nazi murder of European Jews through survivor testimony, thereby lifting the veil of silence about the Shoah that had descended upon a Germany more focused on reconstruction and rehabilitation.

In fact, both iconic images—the West Berlin enclave in the shadow of a wall and amidst a sea of Communism as well as SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann inside the bulletproof glass cage at his trial in Jerusalem, listening expressionless to Holocaust survivor testimonies—have shaped American narratives about Germany and also informed the construction of German collective identity post-World War II: On the one hand, a progressive

and democratic Germany and U.S. ally at the center of European stability and prosperity, on the other hand, a Germany tainted by its Nazi past, what historian Charles S. Maier has referred to as Germany's "unmasterable past."[227]

While "from the late 1940s, and during the following fifteen years or so, memory about the Holocaust was repressed by all (even by the surviving victims)," in the ensuing years, historian Saul Friedlander explains, "both memory and historiography of the Holocaust moved from amnesia to increasingly fierce debates."[228] Germany and Germans have engaged in an intensive practice of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) and *Erinnerungskultur* (culture of remembrance and memory) about the Holocaust has come to stand at the core of German identity. The German memory scape or *Erinnerungskultur* about the Holocaust is made up of *Erinnerungsorte* or what Pierre Nora calls "*lieux de memoire*"[229] (places of memory), of which Auschwitz in particular assumes central significance. In effect, Auschwitz is fundamental to the understanding of Germany's past because Auschwitz, German historian Aleida Assman explains, is the "national catastrophe that has dynamited Germany's cultural memory."[230]

Yet despite such thorough German attempts at "mastering" the past, the ghosts of years past still haunt the political and social landscape today. In fact, just in the past few days, Deutsche Welle reported the results of a recent survey of 16,395 European Jews that found that

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[227] Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).
[228] Saul Friedlander, "History and Memory: Lessons from the Holocaust," Opening Lecture, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, September 23, 2014, https://books.openedition.org/iheid/2358?lang=en.
[229] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Memory and Counter-Memory: Special Issue* No. 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24.
[230] Aleida Assmann and Ute Frevert, *Geschichtsvergessenheit? Geschichtsversessenheit: Vom Umgang mit deutschen Vergangenheiten nach 1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1999).

89% of respondents believed that anti-Semitism had increased strongly since 2013. Charlotte Knobloch, former president of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, went so far as to speak of a "renaissance" in anti-Jewish hatred in Germany.[231] The interior ministers of the EU issued a declaration on December 6, 2018, that called on all 28 members states to "increase their efforts to ensure security for Jewish communities, institutions and citizens." This declaration follows the publication of a CNN survey in November that indicated that one third of Europeans know little to nothing about the Holocaust. Lack of knowledge, however, does not necessarily lead to the desire to know more. 31% of Europeans maintained that "commemorating the Holocaust distracts from other atrocities today."[232]

The research and writing of this paper has not escaped the ever-present connection between history and memory. From the August 2018 release of the movie *Operation Finale*, which chronicled the remarkable story of the kidnapping of SS henchman Adolf Eichmann, to the passing of George H. W. Bush on November 30th, whose memory is forever connected with the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, the memory scape of both the Holocaust as well as the Cold War has loomed large over this project.

While the collapse of the Soviet Union started to bring down walls in the twentieth century, new barriers of hate and intolerance have emerged that have also manifested themselves right here in Minnesota. The hate speech and incendiary anti-Semitic rants that accompanied the shooting at Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh on Saturday, October 27th, 2018, resulted in the murder of 11 Jewish worshippers. Only a few days after the Tree of Life shooting, racially

[231] "Jews in Europe alarmed by rising anti-Semitism," Deutsche Welle, https://www.dw.com/en/jews-in-europe-alarmed-by-rising-anti-semitism/a-46626142.
[232] CNN Poll, Anti-Semitism in Europe, http://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/europe/antisemitism-poll-2018-intl/.

insensitive posters started to appear on Concordia's campus, displaying a statement of defiance that frequently circulates online among white supremacists: "It's OK to be White." Intolerance and antisemitism have been on the rise not just in Minnesota, but around the United States and the world. This makes thoughtful engagement with the past and an honest confrontation with the present all the more necessary. The meaning of words, the usage of language, and the connections made between words and their actions have heightened our sensitivity and continue to shape our understanding of the Waldsee name and its story.

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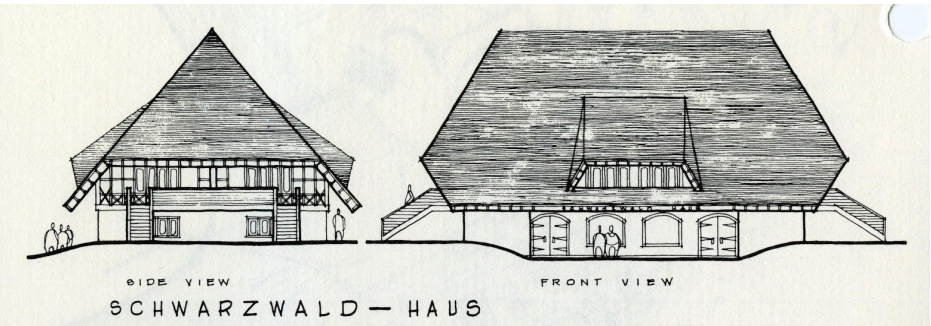
APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: Timeline

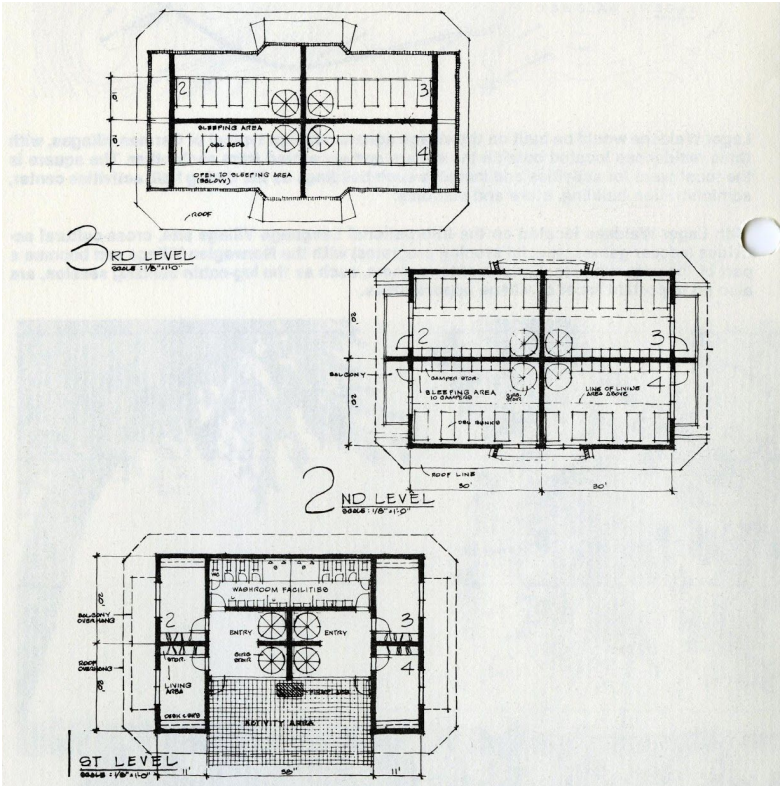
- 1944
  - Waldsee postcard deception
- 1945
  - End of World War II
- 1957
  - Sputnik
- 1960
  - Idea of CLV's Lager Waldsee conceived by Dr. Gerhard Haukebo and Dr. Erhard Friedrichsmeyer during a fishing trip
- 1961
  - Berlin Wall
  - Eichmann Trial
  - Waldsee's first camp; rented facilities at Lake Carlos, near Alexandria, Minnesota
- 1962
  - French camp added
- 1963
  - Norwegian camp added
  - Spanish camp added
- 1966
  - Gerhard Haukebo leaves Concordia to pursue his doctorate
  - Russian camp added
- 1967
  - Vern Mauritsen becomes CLV Executive Director
- 1969
  - Norwegian Language Village begins construction on a permanent site on Turtle River Lake, CLV goes from 'camps' to 'villages'
- 1971
  - Vern Mauritsen leaves, Dr. Odell Bjerkness appointed CLV Executive Director
- 1975
  - Swedish village added
- 1978
  - Finnish village added
- 1979
  - German Language Village, Waldsee begins designing permanent site on Turtle River Lake
- 1980
  - "Lager Waldsee" drops the "Lager" to be called "Waldsee"
- 1981
  - German Language Village Waldsee begins building permanent site on Turtle River Lake

- 1982
  - Danish village added
- 1984
  - Chinese village added
- 1988
  - Japanese village added
- 1989
  - Berlin Wall falls
  - Dr. Odell Bjerkness retires, Christine Schulze appointed CLV Executive Director
  - CLV becomes more globalized
- 1999
  - Korean village added
  - English village added
- 2003
  - Italian village added
- 2006
  - Arabic village added
- 2008
  - Portuguese village added
- 2018
  - Waldsee name controversy

APPENDIX B: Concepts for German Concordia Language Village Waldsee[233]



Located on a 70-foot hill commanding a beautiful view of Turtle River Lake, the Schwarzwald-Haus (Phase I) is the first of the three major residences. The design is reminiscent of the half-timbered frame houses of the Black Forest, with the stuccoed first story and traditional roof. Like its German counterpart, the Schwarzwald-Haus is large and will be able to lodge from 40 to 60 villagers and from 8 to 10 counselors. This is not only an economical way to build, but it also facilitates group activities within the *haus*.



There will be four separate living units in the Schwarzwald-Haus, each with its own entrance, but sharing bathroom facilities and a lounge area. Both large- and small-group activities can be accommodated. It may be possible to incorporate a dining area for the programming during the academic year.

Although it is designed to be a residence hall, the Schwarzwald-Haus has several multipurpose areas which can be used for arts and crafts, games, drama, folk dancing, study and preparation until further facilities can be built. As a single building, it is still a marked improvement over the facility currently used by the German Village and will, in fact, allow for a larger enrollment in some programs.

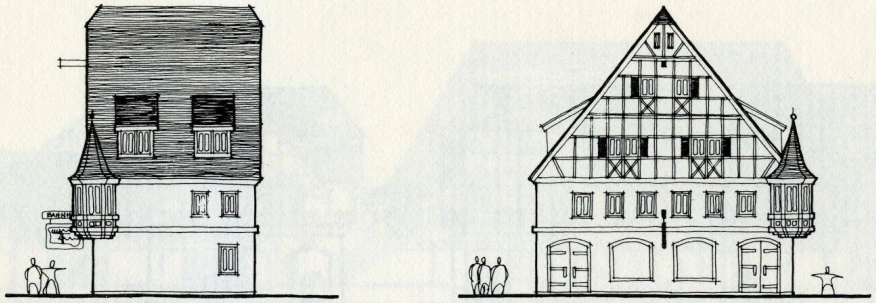
[233] "Report to the President from the Task Force on the German Language Village," December 1980, Concordia Language Villages, Record Group 35; Administration & Development, 1967-2009, Series 2; Development & Strategic Plans, 1976-2008, Subseries 6; "Report to the President" from Task Force on the German Language Village, 1980, File Folder 29, Concordia College Archives.

FRONT VIEW

SIDE VIEW

SPEISESAAL

The Speisesaal, or dining hall (Phase II), will be large enough to serve 150. Located in the town square, it is multilevel and utilizes the gable, half timbers, arched windows and signage so typical of central Germany (Hesse).

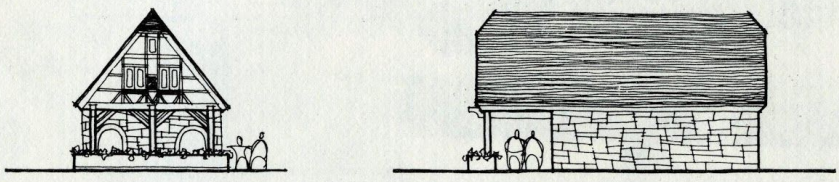


SIDE VIEW

FRONT VIEW

BAHNHOF

The Bahnhof (Phase II), with its charming *erker*, or turret, fashionable in 15th- and 16th-century Germany, will stand at the entrance of the village. The first floor will house customs and the bank, the second floor will be the dean's quarters. Wrought iron decorations on the doors, the half timbers and arched windows mark this as being central German in origin.

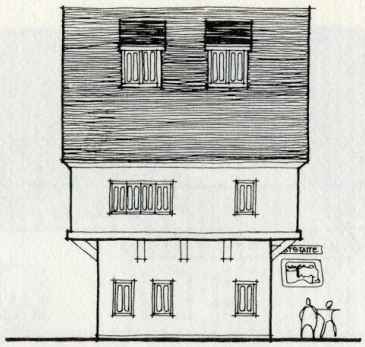


FRONT VIEW

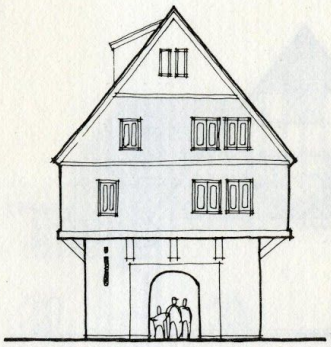
SIDE VIEW

W C

The W.C. (Phase II) provides toilet facilities for all of the buildings in the square, another economy measure. The walls to the roof level are of stone, instead of stucco.



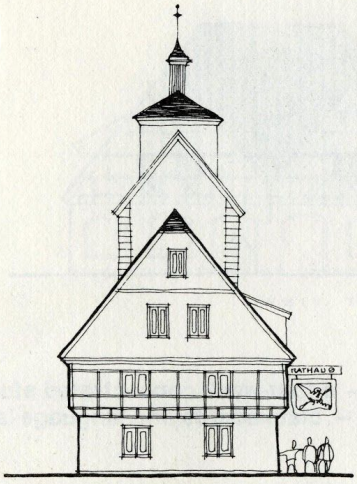
SIDE VIEW



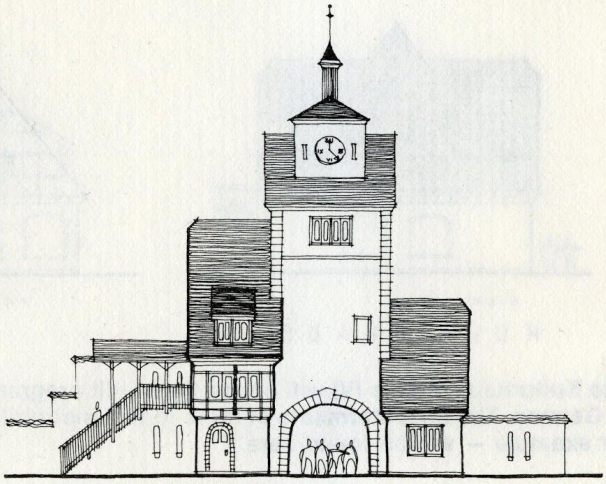
FRONT VIEW

GASTSTÄTTE

Located at the north entrance to the village, the Gaststätte (Phase III) provides staff housing, nurse's quarters and storage. Characteristic of the architecture of southern Germany, the Gaststätte has a recessed first floor and is lacking the half timbers.



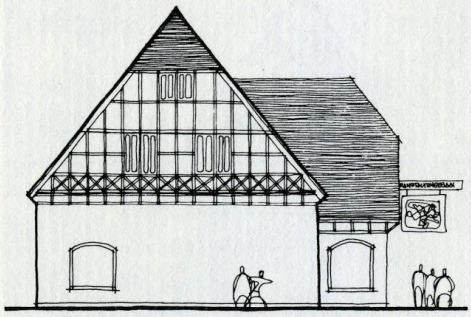
SIDE VIEW



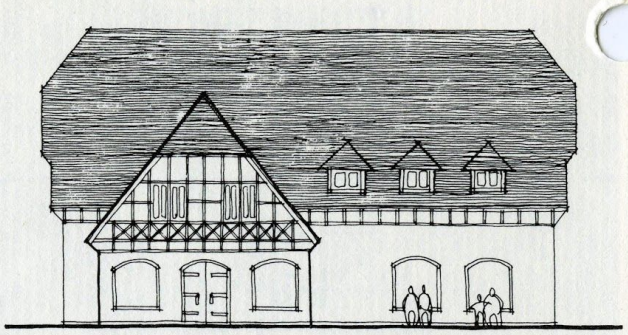
FRONT VIEW

RATHAUS

Serving as a gate to the southern entrance to the village, which enters from the Norwegian village, the Rathaus (Phase III) typifies the architecture of feudal Germany. Four stories high and topped by the traditional village clock, the Rathaus will serve as the administration building and will include the post office, library and staff preparation area. A wall connects it with the Speisesaal.



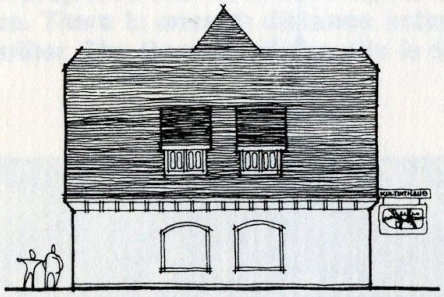
SIDE VIEW



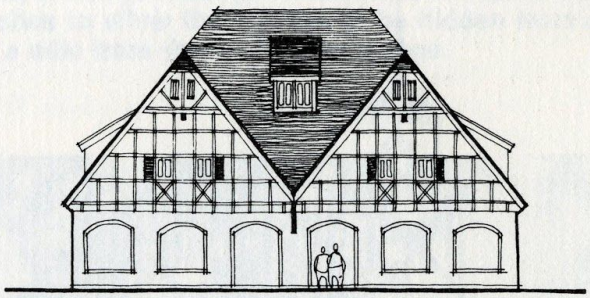
FRONT VIEW

VERANSTALTUNGSSAAL

Connected to the gaststätte by a wall, the Veransaltungssaal (Phase III) is the activity building. The half-timbered upper stories, gables, arched windows and wrought iron decorations identify it as northern German. It will be large enough to accommodate small- and large-group activities, crafts, movies and other cultural presentations.



SIDE VIEW



FRONT VIEW

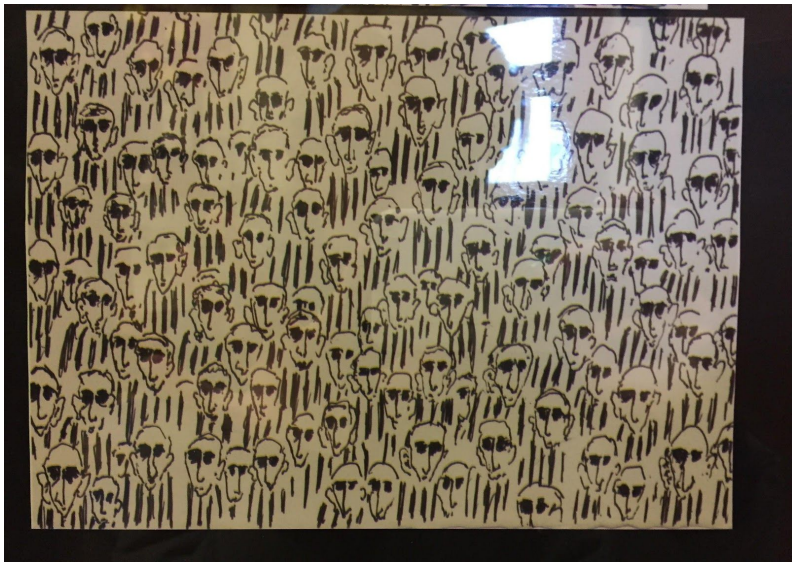
KULTURHAUS

The Kulturhaus (Phase IV) will house the credit program — a four-week concentrated study of German. The accouterments of more formal instruction — blackboards and language lab, for example — will be found here.

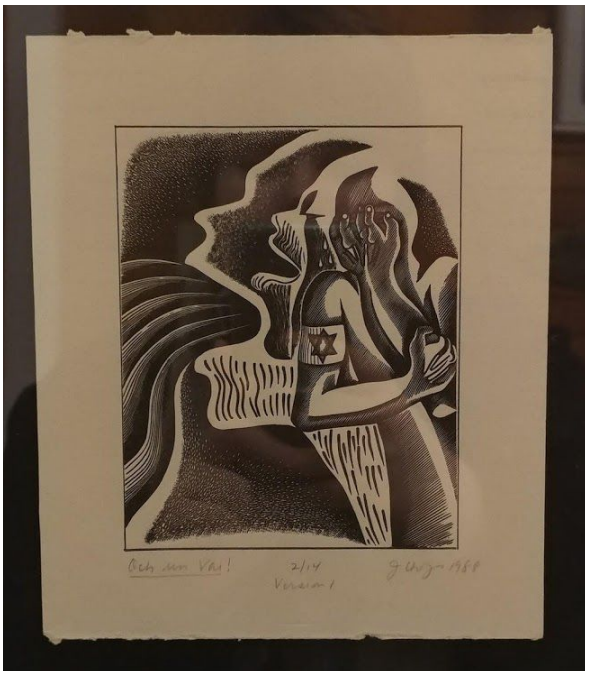
APPENDIX C: “Waldsee 1944” Postcards Exhibit

All photographs were taken by the authors on October 6, 2018 at the Beltrami County Historical Society.


DEAR MAM
AND DEAD



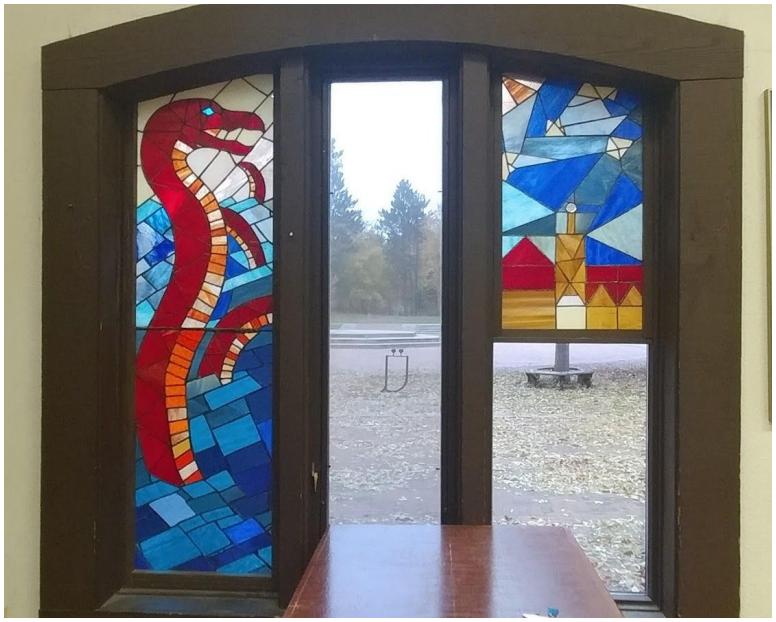

HALT!
STÖJ!




TO: EDGAR BRONFMAN, RONALD
ARIEL SHARON
JIMMY CARTER
WITZ

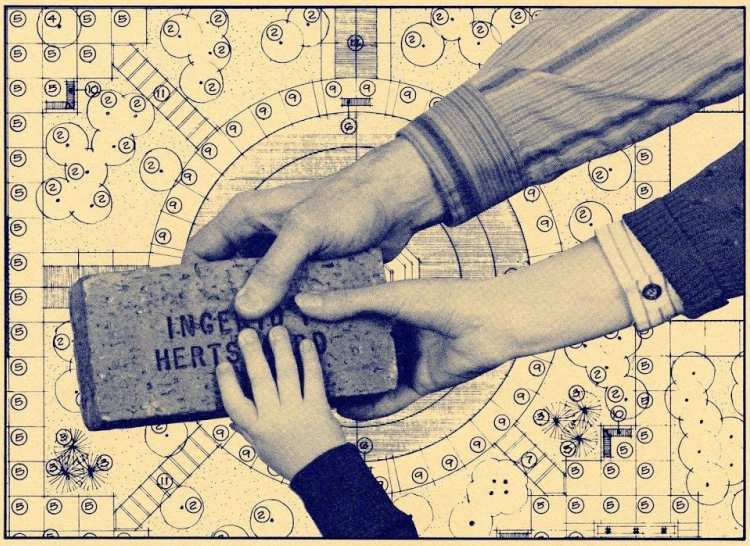
APPENDIX D: October 2018 German Retreat at CLV Waldsee

All photographs were taken by the authors on October 7th, 2018 at CLV Waldsee.



APPENDIX E: World of Friendship Plaza: Cobblestone Pamphlet[234]

Buy A Cobblestone For The



WORLD OF FRIENDSHIP PLAZA

Dedicated To Peace And Understanding Among Young People

International Language Villages ☐ Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota

[234] "Buy A Cobblestone For The World of Friendship Plaza," n.d., Concordia Language Villages, Record Group 35; Villages, 1960-2015, Series 4; Village/Waldsee, Subseries 4; Publications 1985-2018, Sub-subseries 4a; Waldsee history & development, File Folder 1, Concordia College Archives.

The World of Friendship Plaza — *Symbol of Peace*

International Language Village Program

On beautiful, wooded lakeside locations in northern Minnesota there flourishes one of the most significant and successful programs in international education in the nation.

Since 1961, Concordia College of Moorhead, Minnesota, through its International Language Village program, has been providing education in international living and understanding to young people aged 7 to 18 through experience-based instruction in Chinese, Russian, German, French, Spanish, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish and Danish.

Through one-, two- and four-week summer sessions and concentrated weekend programs throughout the academic year, more than 5,000 young people receive an authentic introduction to life in another country by being immersed in the culture and surrounded by the language. Programming is under the direction of talented, enthusiastic staff, including native speakers. An eight-month college-level Institute of German Studies is held during the academic year.

The International Language Village

To create an authentic environment, in 1966 Concordia College purchased 800 acres of woodland on Turtle River Lake, north of Bemidji, Minnesota. On that site the college is building a Eurasia in microcosm, with separate locations for each of the various ''villages.'' Skogfjorden, the Norwegian Village, is completed. Waldsee, the German Village, is under construction. In addition to providing the setting for Norwegian and German programming, Skogfjorden and Waldsee are the site for all the villages, the rest of which currently hold their sessions at rented facilities in northern Minnesota, to meet together twice each summer for an International Day.

World of Friendship Plaza

Soon to be constructed in the center of Waldsee is the World of Friendship Plaza, a town square dedicated to world peace and understanding through the education of young people. It will be a strong and beautiful statement affirming the dignity and worth of all humankind and a visual reminder of the underlying purpose of all Language Village programming.

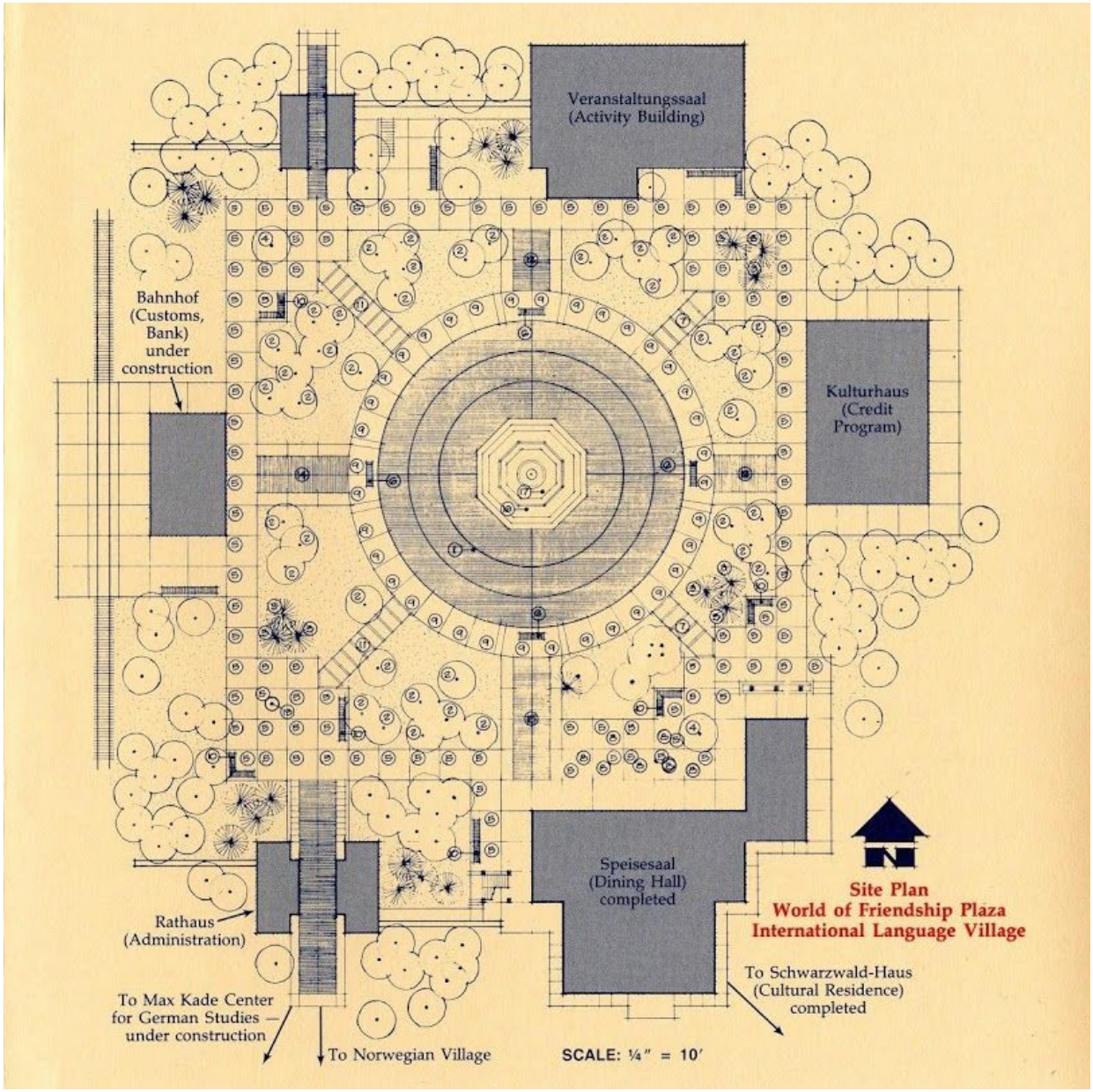
The Plaza and walkways to the buildings surrounding the Plaza will be paved with personalized cobblestones, purchased by villagers, parents, staff, teachers, businesses and friends of the villages. Funds from the sale of 11,000 cobblestones and other components of the Plaza will go toward raising the $750,000 needed to continue construction of the German Village and move forward with the planning for the other villages.

Buy a Cobblestone

We invite you to become a visible, permanent part of the World of Friendship Plaza by purchasing a cobblestone. Each cobblestone will be permanently inscribed with your name or any other name or message you wish. Buy one for yourself, your villager, other children or relatives. Buy one as a gift, an award, a memorial or as advertising for your firm. Inscribe places, dates, quotations meaningful to you.

Other Components

Or you may choose to make a more substantial contribution by purchasing trees, benches, tables, concrete paving panels, walkways or the fountain in the center of the Plaza.


Veranstaltungssaal
(Activity Building)
Bahnhof
(Customs,
Bank)
under
construction
Kulturhaus
(Credit
Program)
Speisesaal
(Dining Hall)
completed
N
Site Plan
World of Friendship Plaza
International Language Village
Rathaus
(Administration)
To Schwarzwald-Haus
(Cultural Residence)
completed
To Max Kade Center
for German Studies —
under construction
To Norwegian Village
SCALE: ¼" = 10'

How to Buy a Cobblestone

To buy a cobblestone, tree or other component, fill out the application form to the right and send it with a check for the appropriate amount to Friends of the International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN 56560. You may pay any amount larger than $50 in designated installments over three years. **Your gift is tax deductible**. Gifts are also eligible for company matching-gift programs.

Purchase Options

The World of Friendship Plaza has a variety of components that may be purchased. The number available of each, a description of each and their unit prices* are listed below. Corresponding identification numbers locate them on the drawing to the left.

Code No.	Quantity Available	Description	Unit Price
1.	11,712	4'' x 8'' cobblestones	$ 50
2.	40	1½'' diameter hardwood trees	$ 200
3.	9	6'-8' pine trees	$ 300
4.	2	2½'' diameter Marshall ash trees	$ 500
5.	99	10' x 10' EAC** panels	$ 500
6.	4	8' cedar benches	$ 800
7.	2	24' x 8' EAC connecting walks	$ 900
8.	7	4' cedar tables with benches	$ 1,000
9.	36	10' x 10' EAC panels	$ 1,000
10.	6	16' L-shaped or 14' cedar benches	$ 1,200
11.	2	39' x 8' EAC connecting walks	$ 1,500
12.	2	20' x 20' EAC and brick connecting walks	$ 3,000
13.	1	4' diameter kiosk announcement board	$ 4,000
14.	1	30' x 20' EAC and brick connecting walk	$ 4,500
15.	1	40' x 20' EAC and brick connecting walk	$ 6,000
16.	1	EAC stepped platform	$ 8,500
17.	1	EAC and cedar fountain, planter and flagpole	$20,000

*The price represents twice the actual cost. The remainder will go toward other village construction projects.
**Exposed aggregate concrete

Cobblestone Application

Please send the completed Cobblestone Application and a check for the appropriate amount to: **Friends of the International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN 56560.** Amounts larger than $50 may be paid in installments over three years. Please indicate the payment schedule you prefer.

Purchaser's name _____ Date _____

Address, City, State, ZIP _____

( ) _____
Telephone Signature (Your signature indicates approval of the spelling of the inscription.)

Code No. of item _____ Quantity _____

Description _____

Payment Schedule

Total amount $_____

Amount enclosed $_____

Balance due $_____

Balance to be paid in installments of $ _____ (minimum $50)

To be billed:

Annually _____

Semiannually _____

Quarterly _____

Other _____

Beginning _____
Day Mo. Yr.

Matching gift? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, company _____

Gifts of $1,000 or more include membership in the C-400 Club of Concordia College and a Key to the Village Award from the International Language Villages. Donors of $500 or more may wish to call the Language Village office to discuss their inscriptions.

Remember, your gift is tax deductible.

Below are boxes for up to five cobblestones or plaques. Each one is allowed inscriptions of up to two lines, 14 spaces each. Inscriptions may include names of people, businesses, organizations, cities, teams, events, quotations or dates. Inscriptions are subject to approval by the World of Friendship Plaza Steering Committee. All letters of the alphabet, numbers 0 through 9, periods, commas and dashes may be used. Please print the inscriptions as you'd like them to appear on each cobblestone or plaque. Check the spelling carefully before signing. For more than five inscriptions, use additional sheets, following the same format.

Please print clearly

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY Cobblestone No. _____

Please print clearly

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY Cobblestone No. _____

Please print clearly

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY Cobblestone No. _____

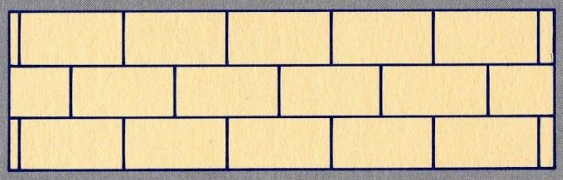
Please print clearly

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY Cobblestone No. _____

Please print clearly

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY Cobblestone No. _____

If you wish to have your cobblestones grouped together in a specific order, please indicate the order on the cobblestone layout below.



Recognition

We will send you an ownership certificate and ensure that your properly inscribed cobblestone or plaque is placed in the World of Friendship Plaza, an eloquent and lasting witness of your commitment to young people and to international understanding and peace. Walks and panels will each be identified with cobblestones. Trees and furnishings will be identified with plaques.

The location of your cobblestones or other component will be shown on a map at the Plaza after its completion in 1985.

Without a doubt the World of Friendship Plaza will serve as a popular showcase for international education, attracting visitors from here and abroad and providing a constant reminder to visitors and villagers alike of the purposes of the International Language Villages program.

For More Information

For more information, write or call the International Language Villages, Concordia College, Moorhead, MN 56560, (218) 299-4544.

The World of Friendship Plaza is reminiscent of the Language Village symbol, which is the design on the World of Friendship medallion and award. The medallion is presented to villagers who have attended a Language Village for five or more summers, and the award is given to individuals who have made outstanding contributions to the program.

APPENDIX F: Glossary of People

Ted Anderson	Former staff member and head of the Twin Cities German Immersion School. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
David Benson	Dean of *Les Voyageurs* program, Concordia Language Villages; teacher of history and political science at the Colorado Springs school. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Dr. Jonathan P. Clark	Associate Professor of German at Concordia College (Moorhead, MN). Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Sarah Cushman	Director of the Holocaust Education Foundation at Northwestern University. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018. (Cushman was unable to be in attendance during the advisory committee's summit, but was part of the email correspondences).
Eric Eliason	Dean of Concordia College (Moorhead, MN) and vice president of Academic Affairs at Concordia College. Currently serves on

	the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Lily Garner Feldman	Harry & Helen Gray senior fellow and director of the society, culture, and politics program, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Johns Hopkins University. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018. (Feldman was unable to be in attendance during the advisory committee's summit, but was part of the email correspondences).
Dr. Dan Hamilton	Dean of German Concordia Language Village Waldsee (second-half of the summer) from 1981 to current. While he has been on staff at CLV since 1972, he attended the German CLV as a villager in 1968. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Dr. Gerhard Haukebo	Founder of the Concordia Language Villages in 1961. Education professor at Concordia College (Moorhead, MN) from 1959-1966.
Steve Hunegs	Director of the Jewish Community Relations Council for Minnesota and the Dakotas. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.

Kay Kallos	Former staff member at CLV; public art program manager, city of Dallas, Texas. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Dr. Joseph L. Knutson	The 7th President of Concordia College from 1951 to 1975. Approved the funding and implementation of Concordia Language Villages in 1960.
Holger Mahnicke	Minister, head of culture and communications at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United States; former ambassador of Germany to Cameroon. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Leslie Morris	Director at Center of Jewish Studies and professor of German at the University of Minnesota. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Dr. Carrie A. Olsen	Board member, Denver public schools. Holds a Ph.D. in curriculum and instruction with an emphasis in Holocaust and genocide education from the University of Denver. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.

Dr. Jon Olsen	Current dean of German Concordia Language Village Waldsee (first-half of the summer). He has been with CLV for 27 years and was once a villager at both the German and Norwegian villages. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Gary Rozman	Executive Director of the Beltrami County Historical Society, the museum currently exhibiting the "Waldsee 1944" postcard exhibit on loan from the Hebrew Union College.
Edwin Dehler-Seter	Dean of German Concordia Language Village Waldsee Year-Round Program, Environmental Education, and the Natural Resource Management Specialist. He has worked for CLV for over 20 years. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Christine Schulze	Executive Director of Concordia Language Villages from 1989 to present. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Helmut Walser Smith	Martha Rivers Ingram chair of history and professor of German studies, Vanderbilt University; parent of participants at the

	German language village. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018. (Smith was unable to be in attendance during the advisory committee's summit, but was part of the email correspondence).
Ben Squire	National Advisory Council member for Concordia Language Villages. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Alex Treitler	President of Life Language International, parent of CLV participants, and son of a Holocaust survivor. Brought the Waldsee name connection to CLV's attention. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Jack Russell Weinstein	Chester Fritz distinguished professor of philosophy and the director of the Institute for Philosophy in Public Life, University of North Dakota. Weinstein is also a parent of a CLV participant. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.
Dr. Sonja Wentling	Professor of history and global studies at Concordia College (Moorhead, MN). Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018.

James E. Young	Distinguished University professor Emeritus, founding director of the Institute for Holocaust, Genocide, and Memory Studies, at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Currently serves on the CLV Waldsee Advisory Committee 2018. (Young was unable to be in attendance during the advisory committee's summit, but was part of the email correspondence).

APPENDIX G: *Star Tribune* Article

Concordia Language Villages confronts an ugly truth head-on as a step toward healing
By Cynthia Dickison Star Tribune

OCTOBER 21, 2018 — 6:06AM

Since 1961, thousands of children have soaked up German language and culture at Waldsee village, now located on Turtle River Lake near Bemidji.

In 1960, an educator named Gerhard Haukebo returned to Minnesota from a stint overseas with a vision. Could the language immersion methods he'd seen on German playgrounds be married to the summer camp experience he so loved?

After brainstorming the idea during a fishing trip on Lake of the Woods with friend and colleague Erhard Friedrichsmeyer, Haukebo took the dream to his employer, Concordia College. Friedrichsmeyer proposed the name "Lager Waldsee" — Camp Forest Lake — the better to evoke the idyllic landscape where the new camp might nestle. And in 1961, the first of the International Language Villages was born, a place where children could learn the German language not in a classroom, but while at play.

Buoyed by the success of Lager Waldsee, the villages eventually swelled to 15 language concentrations, where thousands upon thousands of children have been steeped in other cultures including French, Norwegian, Russian and Japanese. The reputation of the camps, eventually rechristened Concordia Language Villages (CLV), only became more burnished over time.

Then, earlier this year, nearly 60 years after Haukebo's vision became reality, Concordia faced a shocking truth: There was another Waldsee. But this Waldsee was not a peaceful place of rest. It wasn't even a real place. Steve Hunegs, director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Minnesota and the Dakotas (JCRC), put it starkly. "It was," he says, "a horrible euphemism for Auschwitz."

In Nazi-occupied Hungary during WWII, Concordia camp leaders would soon learn, Jews were herded onto trains with the promise of a lovely and tranquil destination. "We learned that our journey's end was a place named Waldsee," says the young narrator of Imre Kertész's Nobel Prize-winning novel, "Fatelessness." "When I was thirsty or hot, the promise contained in that name immediately invigorated me."

To keep up this sinister russe, new arrivals to the notorious death camp were forced to write cards to loved ones, postmarked "Waldsee." The cards were meant to assure family that all was well and, even, encourage them to make the journey to this paradise themselves — albeit often with carefully coded caveats. "My dearest ones, I feel fine. Hopefully you are all healthy. Please send an answer by postcard. When I'm healthy, I think of you a lot. I send many kisses to you. Your Agi," wrote 33-year-old Agnes Bamberger before she was put to death.

Fascination and horror

For decades, the connection went undetected, as throngs of campers ate, slept and breathed German at Waldsee village ("Lager" was eventually dropped), located since the early 1980s on Turtle River Lake near Bemidji. Last spring, the curiosity of one man led to the shocking discovery. "I put two terms — 'Waldsee' and 'Nazi' — in the search bar," said Alex Treitler, president of Life Language, a family and personal history business. His daughters had attended the Swedish village, and he became curious about the German village when family friends spent a weekend there in 2017. As a man whose grandparents likely died at Auschwitz, "I'm sensitive to the topic," he said. He began to read about the phony Waldsee with a sense of fascination and horror. What did Concordia know about this? Treitler contacted Christine Schulze, executive director of Concordia Language Villages, expressing his concern and dismay. "Your heart sinks," said Schulze. "To be perfectly frank, it was news to us. We were incredibly surprised — this was a program that had been connected to the German government, towns and researchers. We weren't hiding under a rock, if you will."

"Frankly, we were just not aware," said Dan Hamilton, dean of the Waldsee village. "I'm a professor of international relations, so we were a bit embarrassed." Almost immediately, that embarrassment was channeled into action. A message was sent in May to the CLV community documenting the discovery and outlining steps toward possible solutions. The feeling of CLV leadership, Hamilton said, was "we had a choice to make. Would we step forward to face the issue frontally, inclusively, openly, or sweep it under the rug? The only responsible response was to engage the whole community."

Engage they did. An advisory committee was recruited, comprising 21 people with a mix of insights including scholars, museum directors and experts on the Holocaust and the Jewish community. Forums also were held with parents, students and alumni; results from those sessions, and a separate call for input, resulted in 40 pages of responses, adding perspective that helped shape the ensuing discussion.

"I have to underscore how impressed I was by [Concordia's] response," said advisory group member Leslie Morris, professor of German and director of the Center for Jewish Studies at the

University of Minnesota. “While it is widely known that the Nazis practiced this sort of deception, this particular case was not known,” she said. Friedrichsmeyer, who originally named the language camp, only recently learned the story himself. “If I had known any of [the history], I would have thought twice,” he said.

An obligation to teach

The marquee deception for Concordia, of course, was the name Waldsee. Should it stay or go? “Initially I was incensed, and really wanted Concordia to change the name,” said Treitler, one of the advisory committee members. “But the better point is to use it as a learning opportunity, to keep it as a reminder.”

Hunegs, of the JCRC, said he went into the process “fairly open-minded” but was persuaded the name should stay after speaking to camp counselors. Most had come up through the camp as students and were deeply invested in its legacy. “The consensus really did become, if you bend on the name, you dissociate from the history,” Waldsee dean Hamilton said, “but you lose an opportunity, an obligation that others can learn.”

So Waldsee would remain Waldsee, but that was just the start of the debate. “By choosing to retain [the name], we have a moral and ethical responsibility to do justice to the history, the victims and survivors,” Schulze said.

“It’s not entirely about changing the name,” advisory group member Morris agreed. “We need to have an ongoing conversation. We need to address the larger trajectory of history in other aspects of the camp.”

Fading from memory

Continuing the conversation meant tackling a most sensitive topic. “I think it’s accurate to say there is reluctance to bring up the Holocaust,” Treitler said. “Some kids are attending [the camp] for college credit, so it’s perfectly appropriate, but from what I heard, I don’t think it has been accurately addressed.”

Sonja Wentling, another advisory committee member, teaches a “History and Memory” course at Concordia, with special focus on the Holocaust. The topic, she says, is in danger of fading from consciousness because of the dwindling number of survivors and a growing disconnect from the events of WWII, especially among young people. “Holocaust remembrance has become universalized, abstract, a mere metaphor for the ultimate evil,” she said, “while awareness and knowledge about the Holocaust have significantly decreased.”

Thus in the resolutions reached by the committee (see accompanying sidebar) the emphasis is on more education, adapted for different ages, about German-Jewish history. “We already do quite a bit of what we are recommending, but we will be more intentional,” Hamilton said. He said the gathering of resources for staff, including assistance from the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., has begun.

The physical surroundings of the camp will also come under consideration. A space for reflection will be created, and building names re-evaluated. All agree that healing this painful chapter will be ongoing. “We need to make sure that this is not the end of the story — not just at Concordia Language Villages, but everywhere,” Morris said. Schulze added that one principle guided Concordia’s actions. “Our mission is to inspire courageous global citizenship. Dan [Hamilton] said, ‘This is what it means to be courageous.’ “This was it — this is how we looked at it from the get-go.”

Cynthia Dickison is a features designer. She is a St. Paul native and graduate of the University of Minnesota. She has worked at the Star Tribune since 1978, starting on the copy desk. Dickison has worked in every department — news, sports, features, even a short stint on the business cover.

Contact: cindy.dickison@startribune.com, 612-673-4639.

StarTribune

APPENDIX H: Interview Questions: Concordia College German Major/Minor Students

- When were you first made aware of the Holocaust?
    - Was it in school or in your family?
- What were you taught in school about the Holocaust? When?
    - Were materials like nonfiction/memoirs, fiction books, films, etc. commonly used in class?
- Do Concordia German classes discuss the German-American experience?
- Do you ever find your opinion, awareness, and education of the Holocaust being shaped by the media?
    - If yes, what kind of media? Do you think one type can be more impactful or educational over another? Why or why not?
    - Can you recall a specific memory or moment of significant impact about the Holocaust caused by a specific media? What was it? How did it shape your perception of the Holocaust, if at all?
- Have you ever seen or gone to a Holocaust memorial or art / museum exhibit specifically about the Holocaust? This can be within the United States or in foreign countries.
    - If yes, how was your experience(s)? Do you believe it is important to have these and why or why not?
    - If no, have you ever considered seeing one? Do you believe it is important to have these and why or why not?
- How would you define commemoration?

- Do you think there is a difference in Holocaust commemoration/remembrance and Holocaust awareness and education?
    - Are these mutually exclusive? Why or why not?
- Who is responsible for commemoration: CLV or Concordia?
    - Is there a moral responsibility for remembrance? Who has this?
        - Are campers or CLV attendees morally responsible?
- How would you feel if CLV had curriculum sessions- be it activities, lectures, etc.- that were dedicated specifically to Holocaust remembrance?

APPENDIX I: Interview Questions: Christine Schulze

- Tell us a little about how you first encountered Waldsee and CLV.
- Have you ever lived in Germany?
- Has CLV made an effort to consciously teach about the Holocaust at any of its villages?
- How involved have you been with the advisory council and any decision-making that's come from this discovery?
    - Do you have any sort of "final say" since you are the executive director of CLV?
- How separate an entity is CLV from Concordia College? To what extent is CLV liable to Concordia's decision-making? To what extent is Concordia College liable to CLV's decision-making?
- How extensively are you involved with Waldsee's curriculum?
    - Do you know of any specific "history" aspect of Waldsee's curriculum?
- If CLV Waldsee does incorporate Holocaust remembrance into their curriculum, what can we expect to see?
    - If nothing else is being added, do you think that what is available now will be sufficient for villagers who would like to learn more about the Holocaust during their trip to CLV Waldsee?
    - Is there a fear of adding too much Holocaust awareness to the curriculum that villagers will miss out on a German language experience outside the Holocaust? (Holocaust is important, not all about the Holocaust)
- Do you think the Waldsee postcard exhibit fits in with an immersion program? If so why/why not?

- How heavily does the newly discovered Waldsee name affect the other villages such as the French and Arabic villages? How does it/ does it not affect them?
- Besides funding through parents who attended CLV, are there any other organizations that you are aware of that **currently** help fund the CLV?
- In your professional opinion, do you think the funding for the German CLV will increase or decrease with the actions taken by the CLV so far? What's your reasoning? (Remember, German Lutheran Organizations used to fund CLV Waldsee)
- During the earlier years of CLV Waldsee, we noticed during our investigation that many German Lutheran Organizations funded CLV Waldsee and it was implied that they still might. Would you know if this is still true today? If yes, do you know how they reacted when hearing the news about the controversy?
- Has the CLV been involved with any Holocaust remembrance this year that you are aware of? What was it?
- Does your lifelong connection with CLV affect your decisions in the Waldsee controversy?
- CLV mentioned that they will display a duplicate of the "Waldsee Postcards 1944 Art Exhibit." How did CLV come to the conclusion that this was the most suitable art exhibit and/or memorial for your camp attendees and other community members?
    - Villagers had the opportunity to replicate the artistic activity of creating their own artistic reflection on the Waldsee postcards. What was the process of instructors approving this activity? How did students respond to this activity?

- The initial "A Special Message to the Waldsee Community" correspondence indicates that CLV have this exhibit on loan for only 3 months from the Hebrew Union College. Has CLV looked into future exhibits to host in this reflection space? Is there discussion of collaborating with museum professionals to create a new exhibit specifically for CLV and Waldsee to be featured in this "reflection space?"
    - The Star Tribune Article mentions Hamilton working with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) for education and teaching resources. How is that process going?
    - Who is he working with/has contacted from the USHM?
    - What are the elements of the USHMM does CLV & Waldsee believe are beneficial in reevaluating their curriculums?
    - Have USHMM exhibits also been explored or discussed about "a space for reflection" CLV discussed (also in the Star Tribune Article) about having on-site?
        - How would you define this "space for reflection?"
        - What would be the goals for this space?
        - Will this space be incorporated into curriculum discussions or lessons or activities?
- How you researched other institutions/organizations where they are being asked to acknowledge their history and analyze their current values with their historical objects / artwork / memorialization with their contemporary audience in mind?
    - The Star Tribune Article mentions CLV & Waldsee are "[re-evaluating] building names." What buildings and their names are being re-evaluated? Why?

    - If yes, how has this informed your decision on the duplicate exhibit?
- What key components (sources, books, media, etc.) are utilized in your German curriculum? Are there particular “units” (discussions, events, etc.) that handle Jewish culture and/or identity and acknowledge the Holocaust?

APPENDIX J: Interview Questions: Dan Hamilton and Jon Olsen

- Who creates the curriculum for Waldsee, both summer and school-year programs?
- Has there been a focus on the Holocaust in any past programming?
    - If so, what age group and what was taught?
- How much German history is taught in the curriculum?
    - Is it integrated into every aspect of the program or do students receive dedicated "history lessons?"
    - Where is "history" explicitly in the curriculum?
- What time period does cultural history programming tend to focus on?
    - Ex. modern day, Reformation era, pre-WWII, etc.
- Will learning about the Holocaust be optional? Or will it be required for campers?
    - How will it be taught to the different ages/groups in a respectful and thoughtful manner? Activities, projects, etc.
- Is remembrance of the Holocaust solely about the victims?
- What extent did the events in Germany affect the village during its founding and development?
    - Rise and fall of the Berlin Wall, Cold War, etc.
- What steps has CLV taken to reflect a modern, unified Germany?
    - Not solely based upon a divided, cold war-era, West Germany.
- How has your lifelong connection with CLV affected your decision in the Waldsee controversy?
- How has your experience being in Germany lead to your shaping of the village?

    - Ideals? Ideal Germany?
- What is Waldsee to you?
- Would you ever think about updating Waldsee to reflect a present-day Germany?
- CLV mentioned that they will display a duplicate of the "Waldsee Postcards 1944 Art Exhibit." How did you come to the conclusion that this was the most suitable art exhibit and/or memorial for your camp attendees and other community members?
    - Have you considered a continued relationship with the Beltrami Historical Society regarding Holocaust education and awareness?
    - Villagers had the opportunity to replicate the artistic activity of creating their own artistic reflection on the Waldsee postcards. What was the process of instructors approving this activity? How did students respond to this activity?
- The initial "A Special Message to the Waldsee Community" correspondence indicates that you have this duplicate exhibit on loan for only 3 months from the Hebrew Union College. At this time, have you further explored any ideas of conferring with or creating a collaboration with archivists, historians, and museum professionals that could be featured in this space once the duplicate exhibit is done?
- How you researched other institutions/organizations where they are being asked to acknowledge their history and analyze their current values with their historical objects / artwork / memorialization with their contemporary audience in mind? If yes, how has this informed your decision on the duplicate exhibit?
- The initial "A Special Message to the Waldsee Community" correspondence indicates that CLV have this exhibit on loan for only 3 months from the Hebrew Union College.

Has CLV looked into future exhibits to host in this reflection space? Is there discussion of collaborating with museum professionals to create a new exhibit specifically for CLV and Waldsee to be featured in this "reflection space?"

- The Star Tribune Article mentions Hamilton is working with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) for education and teaching resources. How is that process going?
    - Who are you working with/has contacted from the USHMM?
    - What are the elements of the USHMM does CLV & Waldsee believe are beneficial in reevaluating their curriculums?
    - Have USHMM exhibits also been explored or discussed about "a space for reflection" CLV discussed (also in the Star Tribune Article) about having on-site?
- How would you define this "space for reflection?"
    - What would be the goals for this space?
    - Will this space be incorporated into curriculum discussions or lessons or activities?
- How you researched other institutions/organizations where they are being asked to acknowledge and reevaluate their historical objects/artwork /building names?
    - The Star Tribune Article mentions CLV & Waldsee are "[re-evaluating] building names." What buildings and their names are being re-evaluated? Why?

APPENDIX K: Interview Questions: Gary Rozman

- What was the attitude of Beltrami County citizens towards WWII and the Holocaust during and immediately after the war?
    - What about the reaction(s) towards the creation and/or presence of the CLV German village when it opened in the 1961 as a summer camp?
    - Was there still anti-German sentiments towards CLV?
- Who decided the Historical Society should host this exhibit?
- You mentioned that the "Waldsee Postcards 1944" exhibit is unique. Can you elaborate on that? What makes the exhibit unique?
    - Did you know of the exhibit's existence prior to CLV approaching the historical society to host the exhibit?
    - Does the uniqueness of the exhibit create a challenge at all for the Beltrami County Historical Society in terms of space, materials, etc.?
- Will the historical society include the artistic impressions of the CLV villagers who worked with the Waldsee 1944 Postcards and had a two-week opportunity to work with the materials?
- Will the exhibit feature descriptions or educational resources
- What type of reaction would you expect from the exhibit, especially considering the postcards are artistic responses to Waldsee and not postcards from Waldsee itself?
    - Do you believe because these are artistic responses to the Holocaust, they serve as an act of remembrance rather than as an historical education?

    - Do you believe there would be a different reaction if the pieces were the actual handwritten cards from the concentration camp attendees?
    - Do you find artistic renderings or interpretations bring about a different reaction and analysis than historical materials? In what ways do you think this be positive and negative, if at all?
- In what ways, in your professional opinion, exhibits like these be utilized, if at all, in a curriculum such as a classroom syllabus or in a non-traditional learning experience?
    - Has the Beltrami Historical Society done educational outreach with area schools or CLV in the past? If so, what were these experiences like? If not, has it been considered an opportunity at all?

APPENDIX L: Interview Questions: Alex Treitler and Steve Hunegs

Alex Treitler

- How did you discover the connection of the Waldsee name with Auschwitz?
- What made you decide you had to inform CLV of this connection?
- Why did you initially want CLV to change the Waldsee name?
    - What made you rethink that decision?
- How do you think your Jewish identity affects how you understand the connection between Waldsee and its use as a euphemism?
- How do you define your Jewish identity?
- How much did you know about the Holocaust prior to researching the Waldsee name?
    - Where did you receive most of your knowledge?
- To what extent has this become a calling to you? Do you plan to write or speak further on this topic?
- To what extent have recent events influenced your perspective on the topic?
- Do you think "never again," a learning from history, should be addressed at Waldsee? If yes, how do you think it should be addressed?
    - "We intend on making greater knowledge and awareness on a greater level…"
- Why do you believe that by removing the Waldsee name that the opportunity to remember is removed as well?
- Opinions on Waldsee's proposals for remembrance?
    - Not selling postcards in the gift shop
    - Space for reflection

- What does commemoration mean to you?
    - Is it the same as education or are the two mutually exclusive? Is there a middle ground between the two?
    - Are there ways to have active commemoration versus a passive form of it?
        - Example: Monuments by themselves (passive); hearing or reading personal accounts of the Holocaust (active)
- Is there a moral responsibility for commemoration?
    - If yes, who is moral responsible?
    - Is CLV responsible for commemoration? If yes, does this extend to its villagers?
- The Star Tribune mentions Dean Hamilton working with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Do you have any opinions about this?
    - Is the USHMM a good example of commemoration and education that CLV and Waldsee can learn from?
    - Are there any other examples of remembrance or commemoration that you support and believe CLV/Waldsee should drawn inspiration from?

Steve Hunegs

- What are the goals of the Jewish Community Relations Council? How are they involved in the community?
- What is your specific role within the Council?
- How did you find out about the Waldsee issue?
- In your opinion, do you think that America, and Minnesota in particular, does a good job with Holocaust education in schools? Why/why not?

    - Lecture? Critical thinking on *why* it happened, not *what* happened.
- Do you have any experience with CLV prior to the Waldsee issue?
- What was your knowledge of the Holocaust prior to the Waldsee issue?
- Do you think that Waldsee is reacting in an appropriate manner? Is there anything they could be doing differently/better?
- How do you think your Jewish identity affects how you understand the connection between Waldsee and its use as a euphemism?
- How do you define your Jewish identity?
- How did you come to the conclusion that Waldsee should keep its name?
- Has this issue been brought up in discussions with the Minneapolis Jewish community? How has the issue been discussed and received by that community?
- Will you continue to be involved with this issue? Will you continue to follow the story and/or check in to see what Waldsee has done in response?
- Would you send your children to the German Language Village?
- Opinions on Waldsee's proposals for remembrance?
- What does commemoration mean to you?
    - Is there a difference between approaching Holocaust education and awareness and Holocaust remembrance?
- Is there a moral responsibility for commemoration?
    - If yes, who is morally responsible?

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Casey Coste

Casey is a student athlete and sophomore at Concordia College who is majoring in History and Asian Studies, with a minor in English Writing. Casey's primary interests are Asian and Ancient History, with a particular emphasis on Japan and Mythology. Casey's post-graduate plans are to pursue a graduate degree in Asian Studies and travel to both Japan and Egypt.

Ivy Durand

Ivy is a sophomore majoring in History with a primary interest in Ancient History, Religion in History, and Mythology. Ivy has specific interest in Egyptian and Norse Mythologies, Spartan social structure, and the Prohibition era. In the future Ivy hopes to spend time abroad to examine history more outside the American perspective.

Colleen Egan

Colleen is a senior at Concordia College and is majoring in Heritage and Museum Studies with minors in Classical Studies and History. Colleen's primary historical interest is LGBTQIA+ history and exploring queerness in antiquity with an emphasis on the mythology and modern reception of Dionysus. Colleen intends to pursue graduate studies in archival sciences and ancient history after graduating from Concordia.

Allison Hennes Allison is a sophomore at Concordia College and is majoring in History and Heritage and Museum Studies, with a minor in Art. Post graduation Allison plans on pursuing a graduate degree in either library science or archival studies, with hope of working in one of Europe's many museums.

Jarret Mans Jarret is a junior at Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota, and is majoring in history. Jarret attempts to explore as many aspects of history as possible. However, Jarret has studied the rise and fall of Hitler's Germany before the controversy was revealed. Jarret has also studied the Arab and Israeli conflict with a high emphasis on how and why the Jewish state of Israel was formed. Jarret plans on pursuing an archival job after graduating college.

Robert Meints Rob is a senior at Concordia College, majoring in business and history, with a minor in psychology. Post graduation Rob plans on seeking a career for a renewable energy company that is dedicated to enacting change for the betterment of the planet.

Samara Strootman Samara is a sophomore at Concordia College majoring in History, Heritage and Museum Studies, and Religion. Her primary interests lie in religious history, especially surrounding the Protestant Reformation, ancient history, environmental history, and mythology. Samara plans to pursue graduate studies in either history or archival studies after graduation.

Angela Summers Angela is a junior at Concordia College, double majoring in Heritage and Museum Studies and History, as well as minoring in Cross Cultural Communication. Post graduation, Angela plans to work in the Archives of any one of Minnesota's Museums.

Dr. Sonja Wentling Sonja is a professor in the History Department and Global Studies Program at Concordia College. Her research and teaching interests focus on American foreign relations and aspects of Jewish history with a particular emphasis on the Arab-Israeli Conflict as well as Holocaust and Genocide Studies. She is the co-author of *Herbert Hoover and the Jews: The Origins of the "Jewish Vote" and Bipartisan Support for Israel* (2012) and a contributing author to a 3-volume compendium on the *History of American Foreign Relations*, forthcoming with Wiley-Blackwell Press (2019).

December 14, 2018: Colleen Egan, Robert Meints, Ivy Durand, Angela Summers, Casey Coste, Allison Hennes, Jarret Mans, and Samara Strootman (left to right).

November 2, 2018: Alex Treitler, Dr. Sonja Wentling, and Steve Hunegs (left to right).